March 6, 1995 49145 $2.95 U.S., $3.95 Canadian

Killing Them Softly–p.54

What Crooks Say About Gun Control

NATIONAL REVIEW

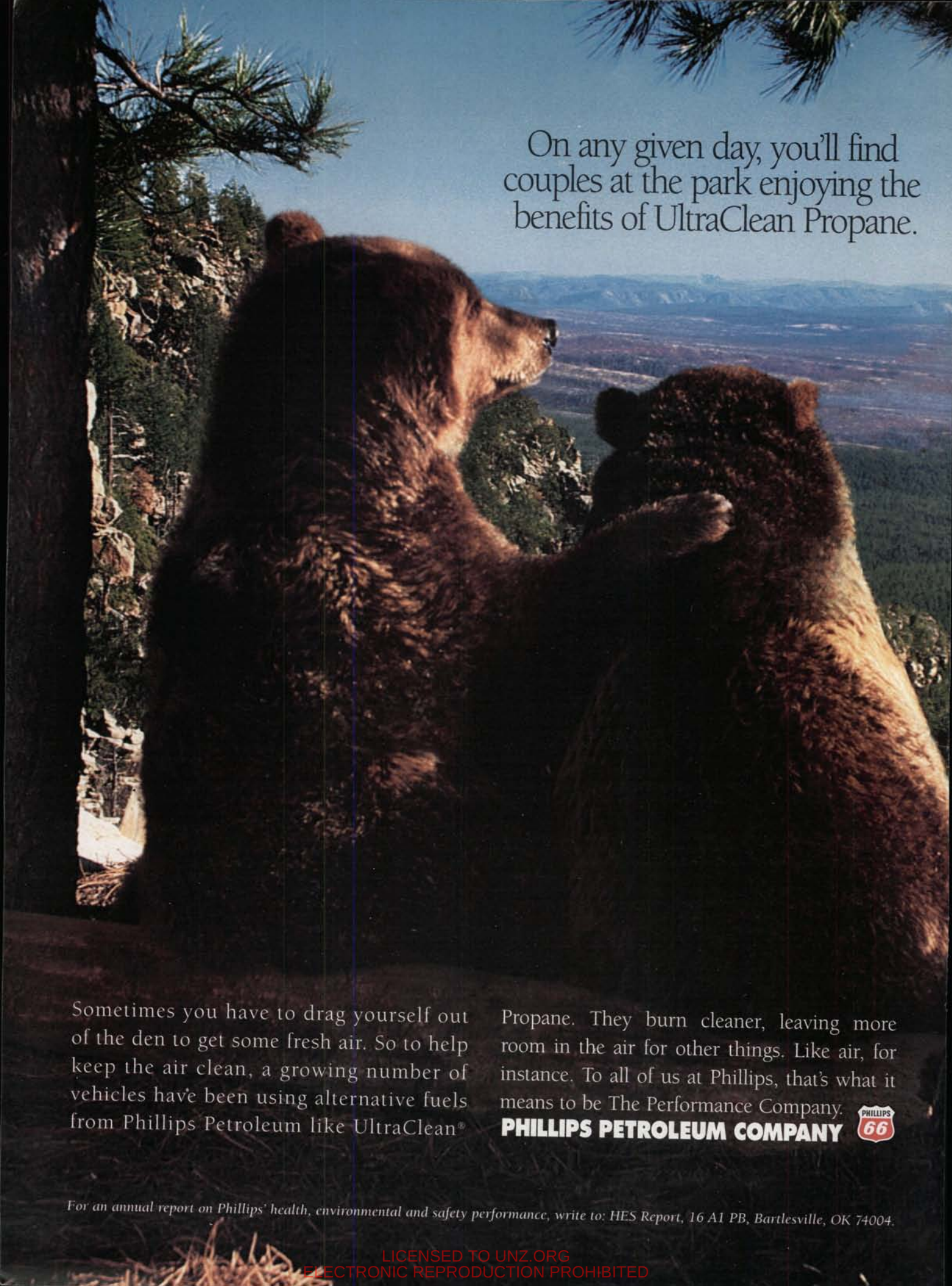
How Black America Can Succeed

~

Barbara Lerner
William Tucker

#BXNCMYG ***** 5-DIGIT 94301
#943010ZZ555BV003# 061295
88 NTRV S01285
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST #371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Sometimes you have to drag yourself out of the den to get some fresh air. So to help keep the air clean, a growing number of vehicles have been using alternative fuels from Phillips Petroleum like UltraClean® Propane. They burn cleaner, leaving more room in the air for other things. Like air, for instance. To all of us at Phillips, that's what it means to be The Performance Company.

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM COMPANY PHILLIPS 66

For an annual report on Phillips' health, environmental and safety performance, write to: HES Report, 16 A1 PB, Bartlesville, OK 74004.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

MARCH 6, 1995 VOL. XLVII, NO. 4

Cover Story

36 ***All in the Family***
William Tucker traces the roots of the black underclass to the welfare system's impact on family formation. But the damage may be reversible.

56 ***Aim Higher***
Why did black students' scores rise in the 1980s? The answer, **Barbara Lerner** argues, holds the key to improving education for everyone.

Articles

25 ***On the Scene***
Rich Lowry wonders if the Appropriators in the House will toe the line on budget cuts. . . . **David Bar-Illan** explains why Yitzhak Rabin has become a liability to the Israeli Left. . . . **Lawrence Kudlow** warns that unrealistic forecasts may doom the GOP's plan to balance the budget. . . . **Tom Gross** watches the transition to capitalism in Prague.

45 ***Patient Approach***
Stuart Butler urges the Republicans to take charge of the health-care issue. If not, the Democrats may win it back.

49 ***Shot Down***
Don B. Kates Jr. finds that cops and crooks see eye to eye on gun control. . . . **James D. Wright** dissects the Clinton Administration's approach to the issue.

54 ***Killing Grounds***
Some patients deemed permanently unconscious wake up, reports **Wesley J. Smith**. Others don't get the chance.

Books, Arts & Manners

62 **Tracy Lee Simmons** mourns the death of oratory and explains how (not) to talk like a President. . . . If you want peace, arm for war, says Donald Kagan in *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*. **Donald Lyons** rallies to Kagan's standard. . . . William Trevor's new novel may not be a conventional thriller, but **James Bowman** finds *Felicia's Journey* is still thrilling to read. . . . **William F. Buckley Jr.** discovers a little bit of heaven in *The Apocrypha of Limbo*, a collection of poetry by Ralph de Toledano. . . . . **John Simon** stays up all night with the too-cute lovers in *Before Sunrise* and regrets it the next morning. He prefers the widow, and the man who claims to be her husband, at the center of the splendid *Colonel Chabert*. . . . You won't find any boxers, or many men, as good as Roberto Duran. **James Como** and **Richard Nebenzahl** reflect on an athlete of virtue. . . . **Aram Bakshian Jr.** remembers his father, who gave him, not an inheritance, but a heritage.

80 ***Misanthrope's Corner***
Florence King takes up both sides of the debate over funding for the NEA.

Sections

2 ***Letters***
6 ***From the Editor***
8 ***For the Record***
10 ***The Week***
33 ***Random Walk***
34 hel
61 ***Letter from Al***
73 ***Books in Brief***
77 ***Trans-O-Gram***
78 ***On the Right***

Cover : "Ruby Green Singing," by James Chapin

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1995. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. *POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

The Enemy Within

I was surprised to find how much of our current civil discourse is spawned from the ideological struggle between liberal democracy and state-driven cultural authoritarianism. John Fonte ["Ill Liberalism," Feb. 6] implies at several points that this civil struggle has essentially replaced the Cold War struggle as the threat to a free society. He correctly asserts that the fundamental assumptions of "cultural democrats" and Communists are the same. Many wondered after 1989 where all the Communists and fellow-travelers would go. Fonte has given us the answer. Seek any Soviet apologist from the Sixties, Seventies, and Eightes and you'll surely find him squatting next to the fire with multiculturalists, quota mongers, and judicial activists, discussing how to eradicate all social ills. Because they share some *Star Trek* vision of the coercive perfectibilty of man, they agree that the only solution is collectivist.

The dangers posed by this insidious struggle are more subtle than those of the Cold War, yet as profound. Conservatives should recognize the long-term significance of the current political debate and remain vigilant against incremental surrender. With the enemy now among us, whether we like it or not, the personal has become the political.

Bradley J. Sealy
Kennewick, Wash.

Mr. Fonte is not just reading the cultural tea leaves and predicting the death of liberal democracy, he is predicting the death of the United States. The battlefield in this war is multiculturalism and multilingualism. The result is loss of national identity and Balkanization. We are no longer a melting pot, we are a mosaic. To be one nation we must speak one common language. Mosaic democracies don't work for long, and an impoverished underclass is the result.

Bilingual education should be completely replaced. It is cruel to tell students that one can make one's way in America without having to learn English.

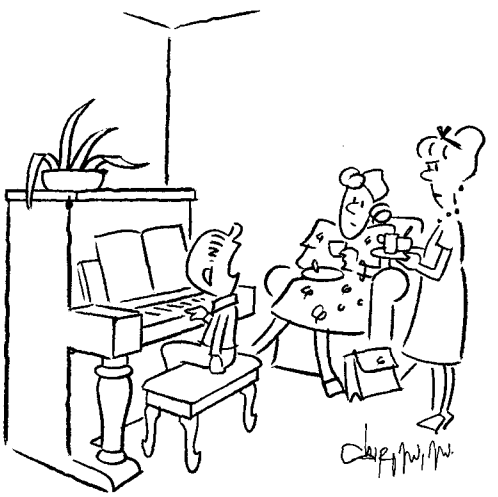
Lack of ability to obtain jobs because of poor English creates a poverty-stricken, illiterate underclass. When people can't communicate with one another, a barrier is put in place that creates an "us and them" syndrome. We must not have barriers between fellow Americans, or else we will end up with autonomous ethnic and linguistic communities. Every nation must have a common language in order to preserve its national unity and ensure open communication among all its citizens.

Larry Oliveto
Redondo Beach, Calif.

"Cultural democracy" deserves to be called by its true name—liberal fascism.

For all their merits, Gingrich, Armey & Co. seem barely to recognize that their battles are but skirmishes in a much larger war. Thank God for Pope John Paul II, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Eric Voegelin, and the other great souls of our time who have inspired countless millions to resist the power of the enemy; and let us give credit to the Christian Right, the only mass political movement with the instinct and courage to fight for the spiritual freedom that liberal fascism attacks with such subtle efficiency. The Christian Right cannot win this war alone, but it is buying us much-needed time, and it is unlikely to give up.

Paul Copperman
San Francisco, Calif.



"My next selection is a protest song . . . against piano lessons."

Attack Obit

Are we so short on new literary forms that William F. Buckley Jr. has decided to pioneer the attack obit? I say "pioneer" because I have never seen anything remotely like his "Murray Rothbard, R I P" [Feb. 6]. Not only does it give talking behind backs new meaning, but it confuses its own message.

Trying to sort out the valid tributes to Murray's life and work from the various digs, asides, sorties, and personal tangents was hard work, recalling Boileau's advice to writers: "Remember always never to bring / A tame in union with a savage thing."

In the future, whenever one of his enemies dies, WFB should refrain from saying anything at all, or else write a conventional obit and then do an assessment or an overview in a separate article, preferably in a different issue. That way, he can backbite to his heart's content without committing necrophagia on such a mind-boggling scale.

Still, he made me laugh once, and Murray would have gotten a kick out of it too. Not since the death of Grace Darling has an obit contained so much talk about lighthouses.

Florence King
Fredericksburg, Va.

Dear Florence: You should live to see the obituary I am planning for you! —WFB

Matters of Church and State

M. Stanton Evans proved too much in his illuminating "What Wall?" [Jan. 23]. He was certainly correct in saying that one purpose of the clause "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ." was to prevent the Federal Government from interfering in any way with state establishments. In implying that state establishments were in themselves consistent with republican government, he is certainly mistaken.

He is also mistaken in regarding as less than authoritative the thought of Madison and Jefferson on the question of religious freedom. How freedom of religion ought to be looked upon, at the state level or any level, is expressed by Madison's *Remonstrance and Protest*, which led the fight for disestablishment in Virginia, and Jefferson's Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom of 1786. (George Washington supported Madison and Jefferson.) The core thesis of these documents, as expressed by Jefferson, was that "Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I WOULD STRIKE DOWN MY OWN BROTHER."

An Elite Spy Rose Greenhow (shown with her daughter), a prominent Washington hostess, gathered intelligence for the South at high-level parties.

The nation was caught in a shattering crisis. From Illinois, one brother wrote another in Virginia, "I would strike down my own brother if he dare to raise a hand to destroy the flag." Hot-blooded J.E.B. Stuart resigned from the U.S. Army, renouncing his father-in-law, a Union general. In South Carolina war broke out; a young Confederate officer returned fire on Fort Sumter and an old friend, his West Point artillery instructor. It was a war between brothers.

The Weapons The war spurred such innovations as the model 1865 Gatling gun *(top)*, submarines and reconnaissance balloons. The barrel of this smoothbore 6-pounder *(bottom)* was rifled for extra accuracy and range.

With a roar, the drama unfolds.

TIME-LIFE BOOKS presents a magnificently illustrated series THE CIVIL WAR. The complete story as it has never been told before.

To begin, you'll explore the forces driving North and South apart...follow bloody raids in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry...listen to the clamor of Wide-Awakes and Southrons for Union or Secession...and watch, hour by hour, the fall of Fort Sumter.

A sweeping new account of America's greatest trial.

Examine the first book, *Brother Against Brother*, as our guest. Then, in following volumes the series will take you from Bull Run and the early Southern victories through that bloodiest day of all, Antietam, to harrowing moments as quiet country towns like Gettysburg and Vicksburg are swept into battle.

The editors have searched out personal accounts to add human drama to the story. The irony of Capt. Theodoric Carter, C.S.A., fatally wounded in sight of his boyhood home. The humor of a young officer ordering battlefield visitor Abraham Lincoln to "Get down, you damn fool!" as bullets whined past. And the books are filled with great pictures—many never before published—making this series a landmark on the subject.

To see *Brother Against Brother*, mail the card today.

The Gray Ghost Colonel John S. Mosby and his band of guerrillas rode rings around 50,000 Union troops defending Washington —even spirited off a Northern general in his union suit.

THE CIVIL WAR

© 1989 Time-Life Books, Inc.

If card is missing, mail this coupon to: TIME-LIFE BOOKS, Box 85563, Richmond, VA 23285-5563.

YES! Send me *Brother Against Brother* for 10 days' free examination as my introduction to THE CIVIL WAR series. If I keep it, I pay only $4.99 plus shipping and handling—a special savings of $12.00. Also send me future volumes under the *no-obligation* terms described in this ad.

DNHMJ4

Name_____
(Please Print)

Address_____ Apt._____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

All orders are subject to approval. Price subject to change.

OWN BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER FOR JUST $4.99

Classic Editions: Each volume 9⅝" x 11" • Approximately 176 pages • Embossed hardcover bindings • More than 140 illustrations per book—photos, paintings, battle maps, drawings—many never published before • Rare quotes from diaries and letters • Informative, 40,000 word narrative.

TIME LIFE BOOKS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The idea that religious establishment in any form is, like slavery, inherently wrong rests upon two propositions. First, that it is tyrannical to extract money from anyone in support of a religion that is not his own. Second, that republican government is impossible if the citizen body is divided by articles of sectarian faith. The Founding generation was acutely aware of the religious wars in Europe. They knew that countless innocent Christians had been slaughtered by other Christians, either for believing, or for not believing, in transubstantiation. They knew that a political community that was divided by such questions could never resolve its differences by majority vote. Whether one should be a Catholic, Protestant, or Jew could not be decided by voting. Unless such religious differences were excluded from the political process, republican government—government combining majority rule with minority rights—would be impossible.

The Founding Fathers believed in separation of church and state, but not in separation of religion and politics. No one expressed this better than Jefferson when he congratulated his fellow countrymen on being "enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter . . ."

Tocqueville—following Jefferson—declared that it was precisely the separation of church and state in America that made it more religious than any European nation. It is precisely in believing that our Constitution preserves our right to the free exercise of our religion—that neither the government nor our neighbor can interfere with that right—that we give it our deepest loyalty. And there is no reason why we should not on all appropriate occasions thank God for such a Constitution.

Harry V. Jaffa
Claremont, Calif.

As a longtime admirer of Professor Jaffa, I am more than happy to endorse his thesis that state religous establishments are not compatible with "republican government." The question is otherwise: whether such establishments are (or were) compatible with the First Amendment. *The answer to this is clear and unequivocal: The First Amendment did not prohibit state religious establishments (which persisted, e.g., in Massachusetts until 1833); did not prohibit state religious requirements for public office (which lasted until late in the nineteenth century); and did not even bar Congress itself from engaging in official, tax-supported prayer (something it did the day after it passed the First Amendment). The historical record on all of this is quite abundant, and what Professor Jaffa or I believe today to be the essence of "republican government" is an entirely different issue.*

—MSE

Harass Me, Baby

Anthony Townsend and Harsh Luthar's "Man Handling" [Feb. 6] fails to uphold its thesis of sexual harassment of men. They claim that men harbor a desire to be harassed: "Ask a number of men if they have been harassed, and nine out of ten will say, 'No, but I'd like to be.'" If nine out of ten men *wish* to be sexually harassed but say they *have not been*, it follows that nine out of ten have *not* been sexually harassed at work.

Men don't "recognize" incidents of sexual harassment for what they are, the authors hypothesize. Perhaps that's because men are rarely subjected to any kind of sexual harassment. Perhaps men are simply furious because, for the first time, they're being held accountable for unacceptable behavior. This would certainly explain men's fits of pique that Luthar and Townsend describe: missing work, becoming less productive, leaving their jobs, "lash[ing] out against female co-workers."

The authors write about the difficulty of "trying to document a large, invisible mass of harassed men in the work force." Their task is surely exacerbated by the fact that this "large, invisible mass" is largely imaginary. A few isolated and well-publicized incidents do not make a trend. Sexual harassment of men is just not a widespread problem, and wishing will not make it so.

Marie Lazzari
Royal Oak, Mich.

Feminist Catharine MacKinnon avers that although women did not report harassment early on, "The unnamed should not be mistaken for the nonexistent." In the popular interpretation of harassment men are excluded as victims: male harassment is, in Professor MacKinnon's term, an "unnamed." Men joke about harassment, but it is gallows humor, and their laughter is sadly naïve.

The behaviors that Miss Lazzari refers to as "fits of pique" are behaviors that we only expect to find in male victims. But they are the same behaviors that women claiming psychological harm exhibit, and for which millions of dollars have been paid in damages. Perhaps Miss Lazzari makes an unintended tribute to the male character when she implies that what constitutes high-dollar pyschological harm for a woman is only a "fit of pique" for a man.

—AT

Tax Free

We much appreciate the kind words about the new Library of Congress magazine *Civilization* ["The Week," Jan. 23]. However, Bruce Allerdice errs ["Letters," Feb. 20] in complaining that the publication is "using our tax dollars." Under an arrangement approved by our congressional oversight committee, *Civilization* is published by a private company under license from the Library of Congress. No tax dollars are involved.

Peter Braestrup
The Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Dinner Doom

Dinner guest from hell Digby Anderson's post-mortem ["Books, Arts & Manners," Feb. 6] on his (ex?) friends Louise and Richard's failure at Bengali matzoh baking is a counsel of unattainable perfection, at least in the land of boiled veges. The hapless hosts could have captured the stomachs of Digby, Phil, and Ann by sticking with English cookery. What Englishperson could resist a generous dollop of Heinz beans on cold toasted white Pan, cereal-filled bangers and grey mash, a fry-up of fatty bacon and eggs tasting of fishmeal, basted in weeks-old grease, a Bird's trifle, all this comfort washed down with a magnum-sized bottle of Bulmers or Strongbow. No practice necessary, mate.

Michael W. Cunningham
Darien, Conn.

I'm sorry to disappoint Mr. Cunningham, but English cooking is no longer as he describes. Now, the same ingredients are served, just as disgusting as before, but with half a tasteless California strawberry on top.

—DA

Where Has All the Money Gone?

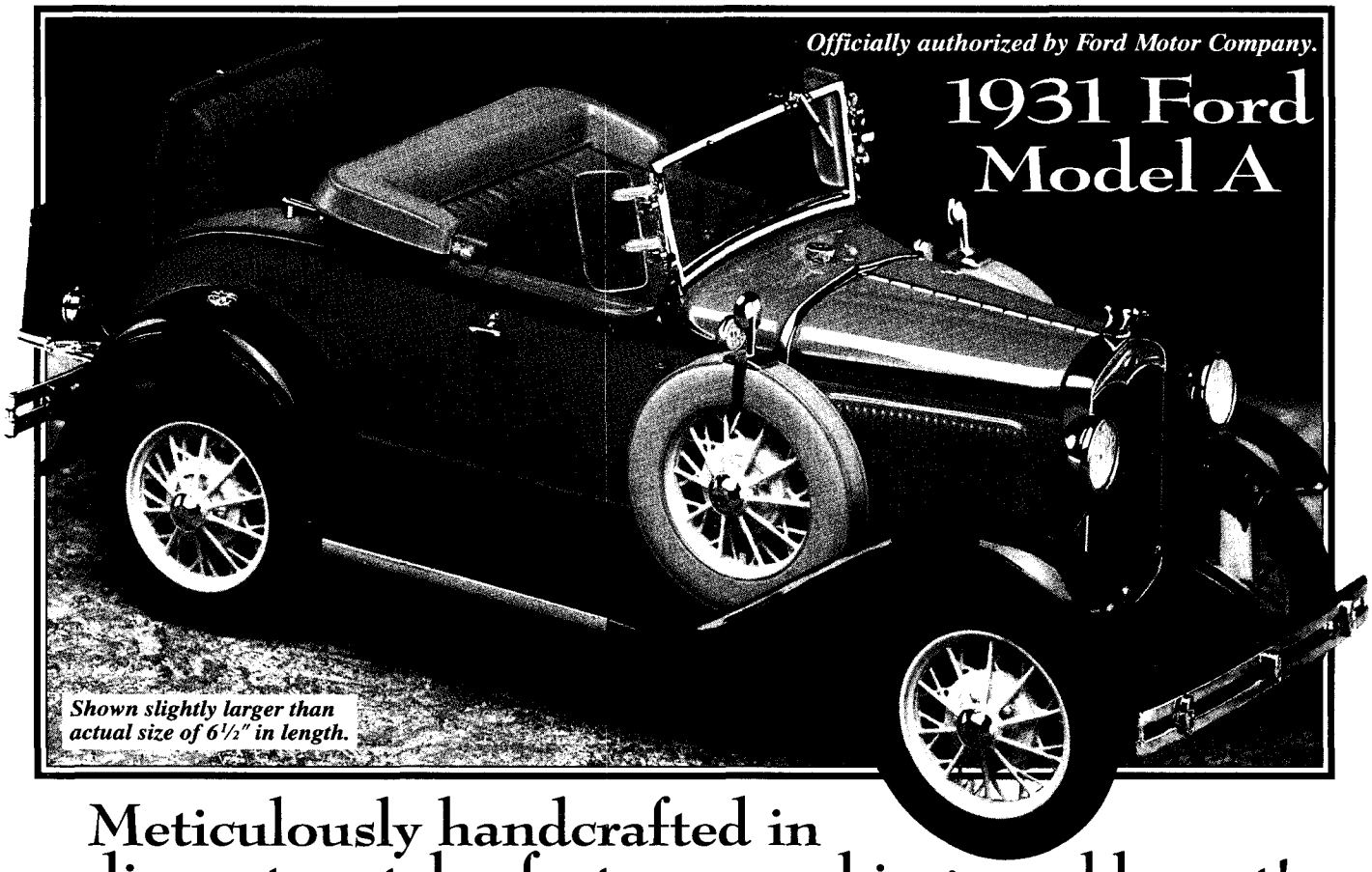
Semantics again! One needs only to stick a "defense" (Environmental Defense) or a "choice" (pro-choice) onto something a normal U.S. citizen may favor to hoodwink him into funding an already taxpayer-funded agency. Thank God for Rich Lowry ["Grant Children," Feb. 6], who tips us off as to where the rest of our money is diverted.

Thomas Power
Brighton, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

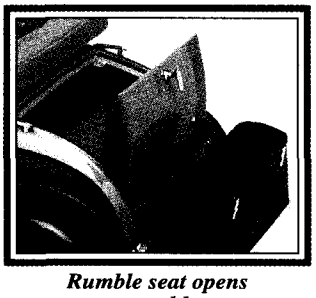
Officially authorized by Ford Motor Company.

1931 Ford Model A



Shown slightly larger than actual size of 6½" in length.

Meticulously handcrafted in die-cast metal—features working rumble seat!



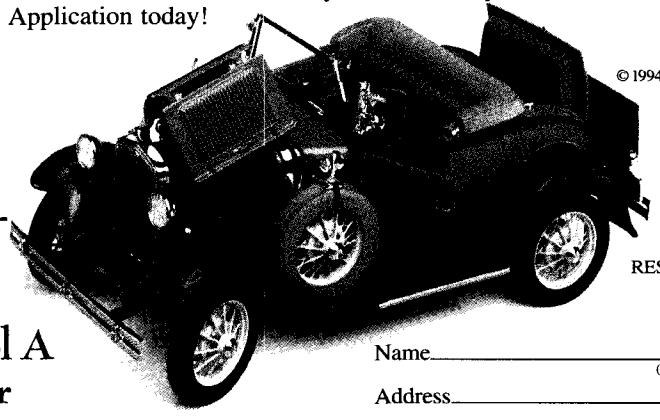
Rumble seat opens smoothly.

Engine boasts a superb level of detail.

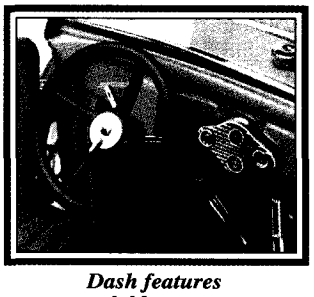
In 1927, Henry Ford introduced the beautiful Model A to replace the legendary Model T motorcar — the beloved "Tin Lizzie." When the American public saw "The New Ford," it was love at first sight. The Roadster's racy styling — and its jazzy genuine leather rumble seat — represented high-fashion motoring at its finest. Now, you can acquire an amazingly detailed replica of this classic American convertible.

A Danbury Mint exclusive.

This replica is faithfully reproduced in 1:24 scale from 165 parts. All the major components are die-cast metal. Each replica is individually polished by hand to a showroom finish. The *1931 Ford Model A Deluxe Roadster* is available exclusively from the Danbury Mint at just $94.50, payable in three monthly installments of $31.50. Your satisfaction is guaranteed. To order, send no money now. Return your Reservation Application today!

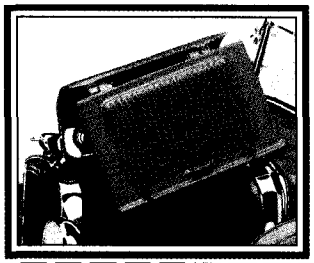


© 1994 MBI



Dash features readable gauges.

Hood opens on both sides.



The Danbury Mint
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Send no money now.

1931 Ford Model A Deluxe Roadster

Yes! Reserve my *1931 Ford Model A Deluxe Roadster*. I will pay for my replica in three monthly installments of $31.50*. If not completely satisfied with my replica, I may return it within 30 days for replacement or refund.

*Plus any applicable sales tax and $1.50 shipping and handling per installment.
Ford trademarks used under license from Ford Motor Company.

Name_____
(Please print clearly.)

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip _____

Signature_____
(Orders subject to acceptance.)

Allow 4 to 8 weeks after initial payment for shipment.

1954ENJ1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

March 6 issue; printed February 15

John O'Sullivan *Editor*

Senior Editors
Peter Brimelow / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Jacob Sullum *Articles Editor*
Matthew Carolan *Executive Editor*
David Klinghoffer *Literary Editor*
Rich Lowry *National Political Reporter*
Lawrence Kudlow *Economics Editor*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
Radek Sikorski *Roving Correspondent*
Luba Kolomytseva *Art Director*
Karina Rollins *Associate Editor*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
Jeanne Shanahan *Assistant to the Editor*
Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Andrew Oliver
Tracy Lee Simmons / Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Jennifer Curry
Millie Fletcher / Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Research Assistants
Russell Jenkins / James Voris
Contributing Editors
Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison / Hadley Arkes
Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Andrew Ferguson
John Gray / Florence King
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn / Anthony Lejeune
Stephen Markman / Richard John Neuhaus
Kate Walsh O'Beirne / Paul Craig Roberts
Peter Samuel / John Simon / Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Vin Weber
Timothy J. Wheeler

Thomas L. Rhodes *President*

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor-at-Large*

Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / David Brudnoy / Richard C. Carpenter
John Chamberlain / Donald Coxe
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.
Doug Gamble / James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas
D. Keith Mano / Charles Burton Marshall
Forrest McDonald / Brad Miner
Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
William A. Rusher / Robert S. Strother
J. O. Tate / Terry Teachout
Taki Theodoracopulos / S. L. Varnado
Richard Vigilante / Charles Wallen Jr.
Chilton Williamson Jr.
Jack Fowler *Assistant Publisher*
Kevin Longstreet *Assistant to the Publisher*
Barbara Nowack *Assistant to the President*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*
Galina Veygman *Accounting Manager*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Business Services
Alex Batey / Lisa Champagne / Terri Cohen
Julie Crane / Karen Pinckney
Circulation 212-679-7330
Theresa Maloney *Circulation Director*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Marketing & Advertising Sales
212-679-3923
Donald W. Burkett *Director*
Direct Response Advertising
Scott Budd *Director*
Todd Westover
Jennifer L. Bancks *Advertising Sales Assistant*

Edward A. Capano *Publisher*

FROM THE EDITOR

Race to the Swift

■ Republicans in Congress, notably Senator Dole, are apparently considering how to phase out racial and gender quotas—a morally essential reform.

It is wrong for the government to favor someone who is not the victim of identifiable discrimination over someone else who is not guilty of it, simply on account of race or gender.

The principle of officially-enforced reverse discrimination is obnoxious to justice and American values. Many other evils flow from it. And polls show it to be deeply unpopular.

Yet Mr. Dole's raising of the issue has provoked nervous twitches in the GOP. Senator Lugar, for instance, suggests it should be avoided as divisive.

It is understandable that the senator, as a responsible man, should not want to aggravate already severe racial tensions. But those tensions are severe, in part at least, because of quotas.

Failing to see this, Mr. Lugar ends up arguing that it is more divisive to complain about reverse racial discrimination than to impose it.

Meanwhile, Senator Orrin Hatch lets it be known that the abolition of quotas is not high on his list of priorities.

Can this be the Orrin Hatch who, in the Spring 1980 *Policy Review*, wrote: ". . . I want to emphasize that affirmative action means quotas or it means nothing. It means discrimination on the basis of race and sex. . . . It has nothing to do with equal opportunity . . . Affirmative action is about equality of results, statistically measured. Its proponents have made great efforts of casuistry to distinguish between quotas and "goals," "targets," "timetables," and so on. All such distinctions dissolve in practice."

Or, again: "In any event, affirmative action is a symbol and a symptom of the regulatory socialism which, sprouting with the New Deal, has grown like a kudu vine until our institutions and their classical liberal inspiration are on the point of vanishing from sight."

If getting rid of this proliferating evil is not high on the senator's list of priorities, why not?

■ What lies behind much liberal support of racial quotas, of course, is a sense of despair about Black America. This is illustrated by the case of the President of Rutgers University, a strong advocate of quotas and lowered entry standards for minorities, who, when his guard was down, found himself saying they lack the "genetic hereditary background" for earned success.

Our cover stories contest this gloom on two grounds. Barbara Lerner argues that much Black failure is a response to just such low expectations by whites. And William Tucker produces new evidence explaining exactly why welfare is so damaging to Black family formation.

As the example of spoilt rich white kids demonstrates down the ages, neither black children nor black families will do well unless they are held to high standards—the three Rs in school, and the fourth R, respectability, at home.

■ Fortunately, respectability is making a comeback in general. Gertrude Himmelfarb's *The Demoralisation of Society* (which we shall review shortly), rehabilitates a concept that twenty years ago looked deader than the Dodo.

Respectability fell from its high Victorian status before two very different attacks. The first denounced it as a repressive puritanical ideal which persuaded people they were being good when they were only being miserable.

There is some truth in this. But it seems mild criticism in a world where drugs, AIDS, and self-realization of every kind have created hells far worse than a dull Sunday in the provinces.

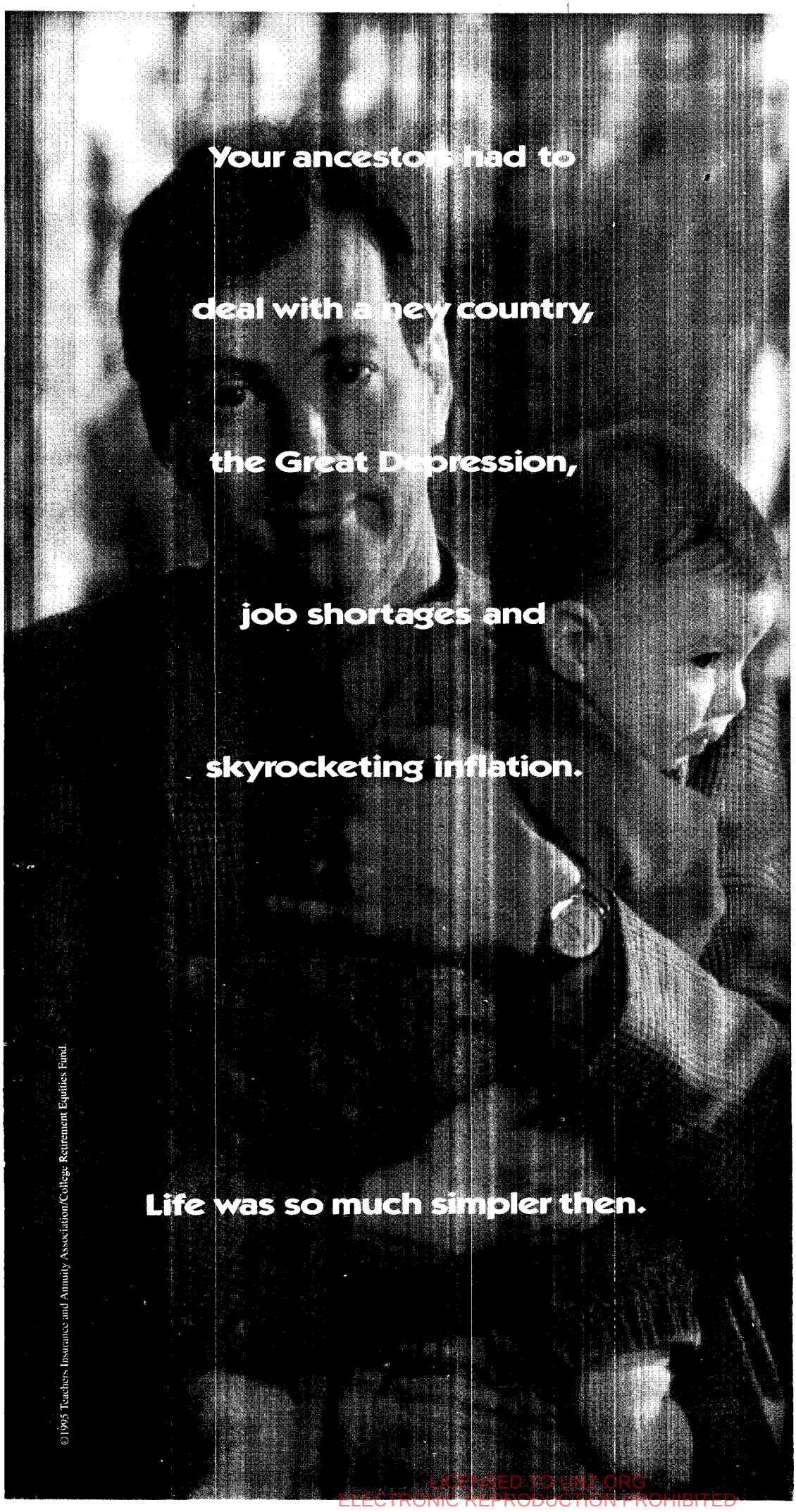
The second attack, more subtly, held that respectability was a pale and unworthy shadow of true virtue.

But as the Victorian satirist, Samuel Butler, pointed out in *Erewhon*, those who attack respectability as an inadequate ideal are the very people who fail to meet its unexacting standards.

For, in sober reality, respectablility has kept more people virtuous than virtue has kept respectable.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



©1995 Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association/College Retirement Equities Fund.

TIAA-CREF.
Proven
Solutions
To Last
a Lifetime.

In a world where dual-income families are the norm, computers have highways, and health care is a crisis, just getting by has gotten pretty complicated. TIAA-CREF can help, with smart investment programs, insurance coverage, and personal savings plans tailored not just to your budget, but to the hectic world you live in. For more information, call 1 800 226-0147 for your free Personal Investing Kit. Because these are complex times. And you need solutions that can stand up to them. TIAA-CREF. Financial services exclusively for people in education and research.

TIAA CREF

Ensuring the future for those who shape it.℠

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ House Speaker **Newt Gingrich** says Ways and Means Committee chairman **Bill Archer**, (R., Tex.) is still determined to win the affection of American taxpayers. Gingrich told Atlanta audience he was pleasantly "shocked" to learn Archer will schedule hearings this summer on eliminating income tax and abolishing the IRS. . . . Tidal wave of impressive conservative witnesses on Capitol Hill—once frozen out by Dem-controlled committees—including head of National Endowment for the Humanities, **Lynne V. Cheney**, and former Secretaries of Education, **Lamar Alexander** and **William Bennett**, urged Congress to abolish agencies they once headed. . . . GOP witness lists have not, however, pleased **Ralph Nader**. He of the ever-grim countenance and consumerist-Big Government views wrote GOP leaders warning them about "pandering" to "political corporatists" from Heritage Foundation, Cato Institute and other Big Business conspiracies who "concoct schemes designed to leave Americans defenseless against hazards to their safety and family budgets." . . . Fed Chairman **Alan Greenspan** may be one witness though who gets chilly reception from GOP lawmakers. Senate Banking Subcommittee chairman **Connie Mack**, (R., Fla.)—who thinks central bankers trying to "fine-tune" U.S. economy are grave danger—will call Fed boss to explain why he loosened money to ease impact of **Clinton** tax hikes and is now trying to make up for error with repeated interest-rate hikes . . . . Meanwhile, Rep. **Patricia Schroeder** (D., Col.) expressing concern that GOP-run committees are moving Contract with America items through Congress with barely a nod in the direction of White House, says she is outraged to see her friend Bill Clinton treated like "road kill." . . . World's most powerful man has also lost his punch on Wall Street says Prudential Securities political analyst **Mark Melcher**. Melcher told *USA Today* that days when Clinton speeches or policy proposals could affect stocks are gone. "I don't mean to be disrespectful. But he's not a player anymore. Congress is running the show."

■ Having conquered Congress, Gingrich now looking to bust up last bastion of liberal power—the media. Citing **Ronald Reagan** as his guide, Gingrich told *Washington Times* that GOP will emulate the Gipper's direct appeals to the people: "We're going to tell them on C-SPAN, we're going to tell them in your newspaper, we're going to use every bully pulpit we have . . . " Washington PR man and media analyst **Hugh Newton** sees more conservative guests on TV interview shows and says this is media's "response to marketplace." . . . But **Ted J. Smith III**, journalism professor at Virginia Commonwealth University, sees only "tokenism" so far. "They don't get to the root of the problem that's perceived so widely by the public—that routine news coverage is dominated by liberal political perspective." Smith cites NBC News' "endless series" on why cutting funds for public broadcasting will deprive schoolchildren of Barney and Big Bird. And *60 Minutes* producer-creator **Don Hewitt** has a problem in the person of **William A. Donohue**, Ph.D., president of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights. Donohue blasted Hewitt's show for offering "succor to bigots" and "allowing extremists an uncontested opportunity to rail against the Catholic Church" during late-January segment produced by **Barry Lando** and hosted by **Mike Wallace**. Though billed by Lando as a look at "the state of the Catholic Church in the U.S. today," he and Wallace highlighted what Donohue termed "radical fringe" of breakaway Catholics while declining to let nationwide audience hear from Professor **Mary Ann Glendon** and **George Wiegel** who had taped response to goofball views and rigged surveys that CBS featured exclusively.

"We can freeze it until sometime in the future when they find a cure for the virus."

■ KGB suspected British turncoat **Kim Philby** of being triple agent and harassed him during his last years in Moscow, according to new book, *The Philby Files* by **Genrikh Borovik**. . . . Russian Defense Minister **Pavel Grachev** checked into Moscow hospital after Pres. **Boris Yeltsin** confronted him with secret German bank account evidence of corruption in his Western Army Group. . . . After blow-up of Chinese communications rocket last month, Peking-controlled newspaper in Hong Kong, *Ta Kung Pao*, saw American plot to disrupt Asian technology. . . . Cambodia's Maoist rebels, the Khmer Rouge, say they rewarded killers of American tourist with 10 water buffalo, 10 oxen, and $4,000. . . . And Parisian commentators say flurry of support for **Edouard Balladur**—now viewed as unstoppable in quest for French presidency—confirms **DeGaulle**'s view of French politicians: "They're always ready to rush to the aid of victory . . . "

■ Marine Officer candidate **Mary Brutzman** of Charlotte, N.C., is impressed by the Corps but isn't sure whether she'll accept her commission. "There's a lot of good stuff but at the same time the purpose is war. It's a shame such a great organization has such a low purpose."

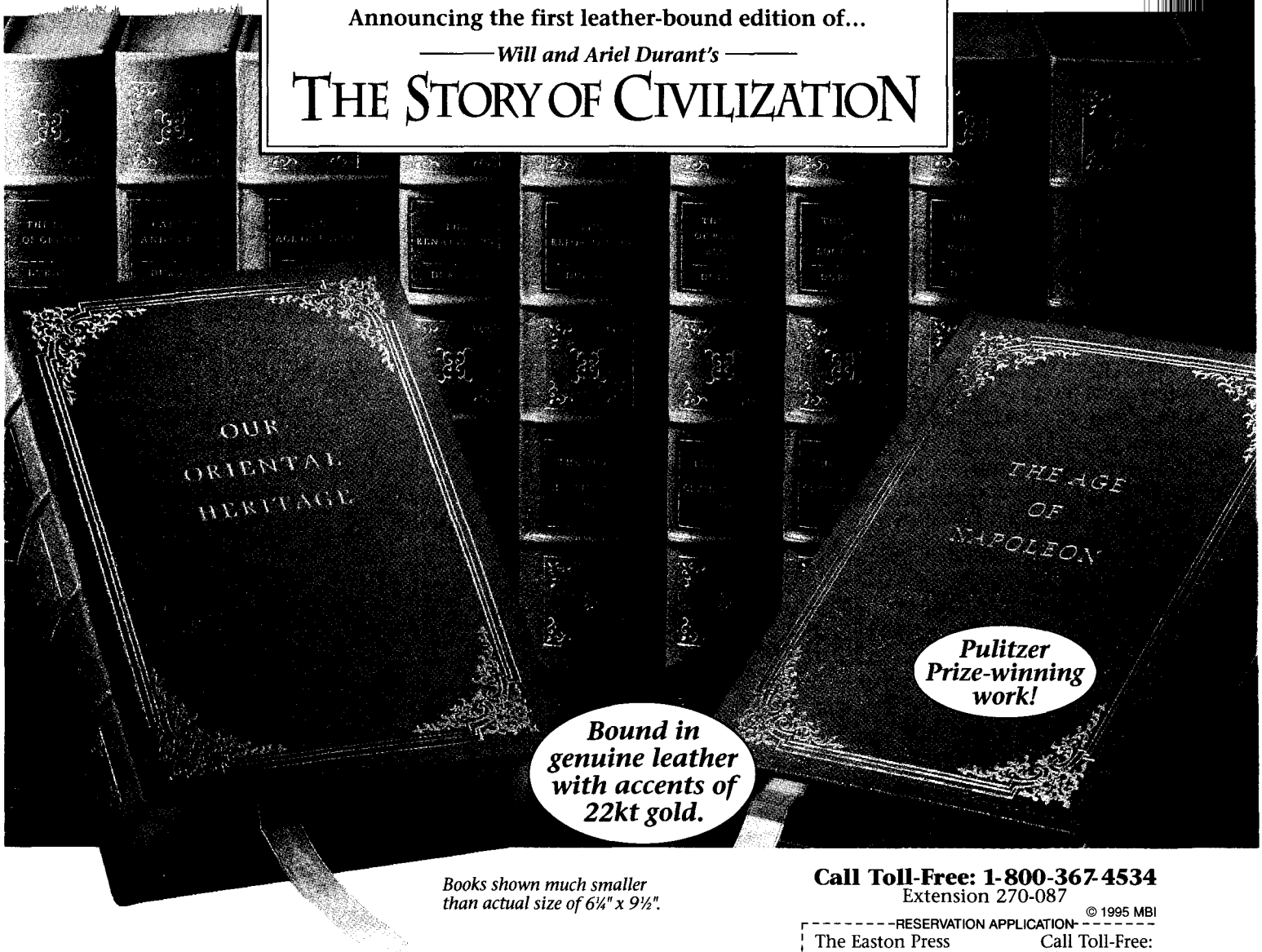
■ *National Review Institute* heads to Dallas for conference (March 4–5) on "After the 100 Days—What Next?" with **Bill Kristol**, **Pete Dupont**, **Larry Kudlow**, **Kate O'Beirne**, **Judge Edith Jones**, and an evening with editors of *NR*. For reservations, contact Kelly Forsberg, 212-679-7330.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing the first leather-bound edition of...

Will and Ariel Durant's

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION


OUR ORIENTAL HERITAGE
THE AGE OF NAPOLEON
Pulitzer Prize-winning work!
Bound in genuine leather with accents of 22kt gold.

Books shown much smaller than actual size of 6¼" x 9½".

Call Toll-Free: 1-800-367-4534
Extension 270-087

© 1995 MBI

5,000 years of world history...more than 50 years in the writing... over 10,000 pages...a masterpiece that will never be surpassed!

History will never be the same for you and your family! Now you can own the classic work on world civilization. The Easton Press is proud to present the first leather-bound edition of *The Story of Civilization* by Will and Ariel Durant.

No other work of history can top it — the scope, the sweep, the scholarship, and the depth. These volumes teach "lessons of history" that you will always remember...and often use.

The most comprehensive work of history ever written!

The Story of Civilization is a seamless, unbroken narrative. It links the ancient world and modern. It takes in the whole of civilization, including philosophy, science, religion, and art.

You'll meet the movers and shapers of history. Explore the mysteries of ancient Egypt, and celebrate the glory of Greece and Rome. Understand the Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, and more.

Deluxe leather-bound volumes — affordably priced!

Each luxurious volume is fully bound in premium leather and is printed on acid-neutral paper to last for generations. Traditional hubbed spines are accented with precious 22kt gold. Endsheets are luxurious moiré fabric, and page ends are gilded for beauty and protection.

The Easton Press is pleased to make *The Story of Civilization* available at just $44 per volume, payable in convenient monthly installments. If not satisfied, you may return the set for a full refund.

This work belongs in every home... and now you can own the complete set, beautifully bound in leather. Return your Reservation Application today.

The Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857

RESERVATION APPLICATION

The Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

Call Toll-Free:
1-800-367-4534
Ext. 270-087

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION

Please send me my first volume of the leather-bound edition of Will and Ariel Durant's *The Story of Civilization*. I'll have about four weeks to review this volume, and then, unless I tell you not to, please send me the remaining 10 volumes in one shipment, but charge me for just one volume per month. I may return any book within 30 days for a full refund.

☐ Please charge my credit card for just one volume per month at $44*, plus $2.35 shipping and handling.

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Am. Ex.

Credit Card Number _____ Expiration Date _____

☐ I wish to pay by check and am enclosing $46.35* (includes shipping and handling) payable to The Easton Press for my first volume.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____
(All orders are subject to acceptance.)

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment. Please allow 4-8 weeks for shipment. Prices shown are in U.S. funds.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ President Clinton's failure to settle the baseball strike may mean the season will open with replacement players. Why not? We have a replacement President.

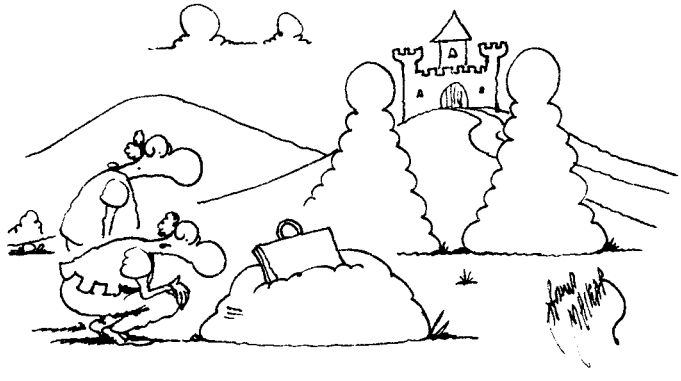
■ Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, the tribune of caution and realistic expectations, has taken to trumping the Contract with America. His just-introduced regulatory reform bill is tougher than the version in the Contract. He's called for a critical review of Federal Government racial set-asides and preferences, pushing a hot button the Contract didn't dare touch. Dole's tack to the right owes much to the fact that Senator Phil Gramm is off his starboard bow. The maneuverings between the two apparently caused Mark Hatfield, chairman of the Appropriations Committee and Dole's ally, to hire an economist fresh from Dole's staff for the top spot at Gramm's Appropriations subcommittee. Only good can come from the Dole–Gramm contest. As the health-care fight proved last year, Dole can be a breathtakingly effective navigator, once someone points him in the right direction. As long as his eyes are on Gramm, that's where Dole's headed.

■ Forgive Senator Tom Daschle his disoriented look. In 1994, the South Dakota Democrat averred: "Some of my colleagues feel that we can make these tough budget choices without amending the Constitution. I wish they were right, but history indicates that they are not." Since then, the ground of history has buckled under the new Senate minority leader's feet. Now he, and ten of his Democratic colleagues who once voted for the Balanced Budget Amendment, are having second thoughts. Democrats realize that torpedoing the BBA would not only sink one of the marquee items of the Contract with America, but also ease the pressure for deep budget cuts. A two-fer. The battle for the BBA will hinge on how many Democrats choose this calculation over their convictions (such as they are) and their constituents. A damned close-run thing.

■ An aide to Dick Gephardt has denied that the congressman will challenge Bill Clinton for the Democratic presidential nomination. Gephardt would have issued the denial himself, but he was looking at office space in Portsmouth, Concord, and Dixville Notch.

■ George Stephanopoulos, speed reader? The Wunderkind zipped through all 2,068 pages of his boss's FY1996 budget and ordered that a brief section on "generational accounting" be expunged. We see his point. Although Clinton's deficit forecast shows little change, and even reductions relative to GDP for the next few years, future generations won't be so lucky. Open-ended entitlements like Social Security and Medicare commit the nation to outlays and taxes that differ greatly from age group to age group. Generational accounting shows, for example, that an American born in 1940 will pay tax rates of 23.6 per cent over his or her lifetime. For those born in 1980 the rate climbs to 34 per cent. But infants and future generations will bear the brunt of our profligacy, forking over 84 per cent of their lifetime incomes to the government. Question for theorists: At what point does the Thirteenth Amendment kick in?

■ The Corporation for Public Broadcasting's aborted plan to hire former Representative Vin Weber as a consultant raises doubts about how committed the Republicans are to rethinking the proper role of the Federal Government. Until the contract was canceled, CPB had planned to pay Mr. Weber and his consulting firm up to $100,000, ostensibly for advice on how to adjust to the new fiscal environment in Washington. But at least some CPB board members thought he was being hired to lobby his old friend, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, for help in keeping the corporation's federal subsidy. Now both Mr. Weber and Mr. Gingrich say that they want to eliminate CPB's taxpayer funding but that the organization should continue as a private entity. Since the federal subsidy represents just 14 per cent of funding for public broadcasting, and given the tremendous profitability of franchises such as *Sesame Street* and *Barney*, this scenario is plausible. In any case, public broadcasting's more popular offerings would survive in one form or another, whether supported by viewers, advertisers, or donors. Mr. Gingrich should make it clear that it's not the government's business to preserve programming that fails to attract such support. A recent fundraising letter from a Chicago PBS station asked, "Doesn't it seem almost a crime that there are WTTW viewers out there who watch



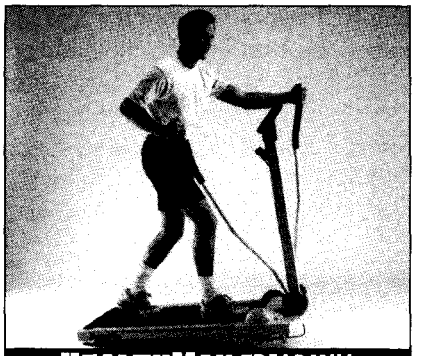
"It says, 'He who removes this briefcase will have power of attorney.'"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

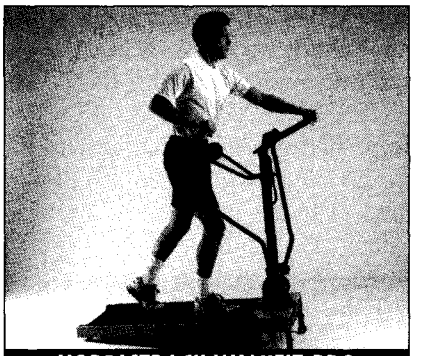
HEALTHMAX® TREADMILL BEATS NORDICTRACK®! COSTS $300 LESS!

Both **HEALTHMAX** and NordicTrack WalkFit give you an upper and lower body workout along with the superior exercise of a non-motorized treadmill.

But there are 11 powerful reasons to choose **HEALTHMAX** TREADMILL:



HEALTHMAX TREADMILL



NORDICTRACK WALKFIT PRO

		HEALTHMAX TREADMILL	NORDICTRACK WALKFIT PRO
1	Low Price	YES **$299** (plus $59 shipping/handling)	NO **$599.95** (plus $49.95 shipping/handling)
2	Low Monthly Installments	YES 8 easy credit card installments of just $37.38! ($59 shipping/handling added to first installment.)	NO Your first installment is $169.90! Then, you must pay $39.95 per month for 12 months, then a final $34.54! (includes 12% interest)
3	Same Price if You Pay on Installments	YES **HEALTHMAX** is the same affordable price—just $299 (plus $59 shipping/handling) even if you pay by installments.	NO If you choose to pay by installments, you'll pay a total of ***$683.84*** to include their 12% interest charge!
4	Superior Workout of a Non-Motorized Treadmill	YES Non-motorized means you set the pace for a better workout and greater calorie burn. No motor means safety and no maintenance, too.	YES NordicTrack knows they're on to something here. **BUT...** **HEALTHMAX** gives you as much and more for about 1/2 the price!
5	Total-Body Muscular and Cardiovascular Workout	YES Works upper and lower body for most effective total-body workout. Ordinary treadmills only work lower body.	YES **BUT...**Why would you pay $300 more than for **HEALTHMAX** TREADMILL?
6	7 Incline Positions	YES 7 different tread incline angles give a full range of workout intensity.	NO Only 6 incline positions—why would you pay $300 more?
7	Fully Covered Resistance Flywheel	YES For your safety, the resistance flywheel comes complete with guard shield.	NO One side of their revolving flywheel is exposed—no guard shield is provided.
8	Variable Resistance on Arm Exercise Poles and Tread	YES Adjusts to your personal resistance level with a simple twist of a dial. Arm pole resistance is 2-way—push *and* pull—for maximum workout.	YES **BUT...**WalkFit costs almost *twice as much* as **HEALTHMAX!**
9	Electronic Workout Computer and Pulse Monitor	YES Full-function computer tracks your workout progress and heart rate—for optimum, *safe* exercise.	YES They've finally added a pulse monitor. Of course you can buy their other model for $499.95 (plus $49.95 shipping/handling) and give up this key feature.
10	Folds for Easy Storage	YES Easily folds to just 53" long by 21" wide by only 11" high!	YES **BUT...**When folded, it's still 53" long by 24" wide by a cumbersome 18" high.
11	Comes Virtually Fully Assembled	YES Simply attach monitor and 3 knobs, and you're ready to go!	NO Requires more extensive assembly.

You set the pace for a superior upper and lower body workout!

By exercising all major muscle groups simultaneously—the muscles in your arms, shoulders, back, chest, abdomen, buttocks and legs—**HEALTHMAX** gives you a non-motorized muscular and aerobic workout that ordinary treadmills, rowers or exercise bikes can't match! And it does all this at a price that's *half* that of NordicTrack's WalkFit! Plus, there's a 30-day money back guarantee! So don't delay, pick up the phone and order your **HEALTHMAX** TREADMILL today. And while you're using it, you can think of all the things you can do with the $300 you've saved!

CALL TOLL-FREE FOR A 30-DAY IN-HOME TRIAL: 1-800-458-4652 Ext. 762-236

HEALTHMAX®
47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857

WalkFit is a registered trademark of NordicTrack, Inc.

©1995 MBI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regularly but expect someone else to pay for their public television enjoyment?" You bet.

■ The nomination of Dan Glickman as agriculture secretary has apparently hit a pothole. The FBI background check was a piece of cake, but scrutiny by Don Tyson takes a lot longer.

■ Representative Dan Miller (R., Fla.) is in his second term in Congress, but despite this quasi-old-fogeydom, he has staked out a radical position on congressional pensions. Miller's goal is "to take the profit out of incumbency"—profits such as the $123,804 a year that Tom Foley will reap for his thirty years of service. Miller wants to replace the system—more generous than that enjoyed by many CEOs—with a 401(k)-type plan, based on employee contributions. Miller sounds like one of our better employees, and we the people should give his suggestion thoughtful consideration.

■ When it was widely reported that five pregnant sailors had been removed from the *USS Dwight D. Eisenhower*, Navy Secretary John Dalton rushed to explain that pregnancy and parenthood were perfectly compatible with service in the newly feminized Navy. Currently 367 women are assigned with 4,552 men on this aircraft carrier, so the transfer of 5 women can't be said to leave too few hands on deck. Still, (anonymous) senior Navy officers worry about higher pregnancy and non-deployability rates as the number of women assigned to combat ships increases. In the six months prior to the carrier's deployment, 14 crew members became pregnant and so failed to sail as scheduled on October 20, 1994. Receiving no attention in the media were the additional ten crew members who were found to be pregnant in the first twenty days of October—making 24 women in all knitting booties on shore rather than swabbing decks. Male grumbling that female colleagues are getting pregnant in order to avoid shipping out invites charges of sexual harassment, yet there seems to be no official interest in checking whether the pregnancies arose out of fraternization between ranks. Secretary Dalton refuses to adopt mandatory pregnancy testing before deployment, and women who become pregnant on board ship will not be disciplined. The Navy clearly remains committed to bold social experimentation despite these early problems, and one suspects that day care on battleships will be Dalton's next accommodation.

■ No sooner had Punxsutawney Phil forecast an early spring than the East Coast was smacked with a major snowstorm. So that's who runs the White House personnel office.

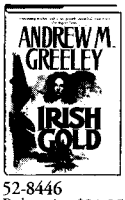
■ New Jersey Governor Christine Whitman is following through on her campaign pledge to privatize some state operations. Her commission on privatization recently urged that the New Jersey Turnpike be turned over to a private operator, a move that would reduce costs by 10 to 15 per cent, increase revenues 7 per cent, and improve service. The governor embraced the notion. She had already proposed privatizing the Meadowlands Stadium and Sports Complex, where the New York Giants and Jets play; the commission adds the Garden State Arts Center, Newark Airport, motor-vehicle inspections, and prisons to the list. Though state-employee unions are, as always, intensely opposed, privatization could keep the present work force intact. In-house managers and employees would be encouraged to submit bids that would be matched against bids from private contractors. The public agency would shrink only if it failed to match the low bid. Such private-versus-public competitive bidding has been mandatory in Britain since 1988 and is already commonplace in Mayor Rendell's Philadelphia, Mayor Goldsmith's Indianapolis, and Governor Symington's Arizona. Who knows? Gotham City, observing the renaissance on its doorstep, might . . . But let's not get carried away.

■ President Clinton a) imposed a tighter embargo on Cuba, and b) "bailed out" Mexico. Before the ink was dry, Mexico had made a deal to send $1.5 billion to Cuba to develop its phone system.

■ For those who love secret bailouts drafted in the dead of night, accompanied by poisonous policy cures such as inflation, debauched currencies, high taxes, and wage and price controls, the twenty-first century will bring you more of the same if you believe the short lists for next World Bank president. Those at the top of the President's list are Stanley Fischer, deputy executive director of the IMF; Lawrence Summers, undersecretary of the Treasury; and New York investment banker James D. Wolfensohn. The first two were central players in the recent Mexican bailout fiasco, while the third is a nice liberal banker with an interest in the arts who is not likely to shake up the Bank. Instead of rewarding representatives of the status quo, the Administration should cast a broader net for people who will completely transform the Bank and its mission. Nick Eberstadt of the American Enterprise Institute recommends complete privatization. But if there is any use at all for the Bank, it would be as an international reinsurance agency that guarantees private-sector loans. Its capital must be private, and its operations must be subject to the rigors of the market system. One person who shares this view is former U.S. Senator Robert Kasten, who as a senior member of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee studied world financial institutions. Another candidate for real change would be entrepreneur Lewis Lehrman. Both men believe in free markets, sound money, economic growth, and individual choice. Since Mr. and Mrs. Clinton have their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

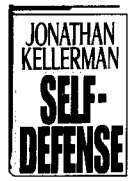
Today's Most Wanted List



52-8446
Pub. price $21.95

62-8881
Pub. price $20

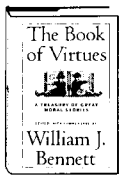
27-7850
Pub. price $25



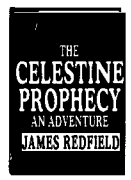
97-7881
Pub. price $22.95

91-4827
Pub. price $22

61-3804
Pub. price $20

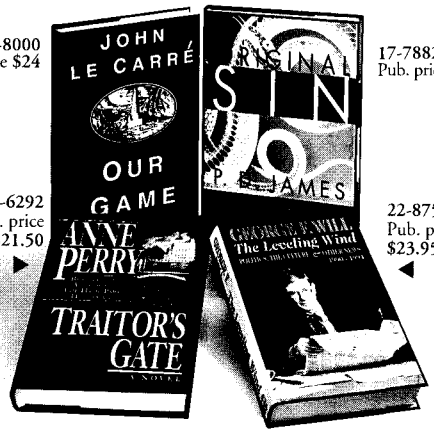


77-4192
Pub. price $30

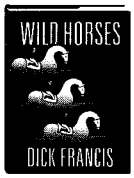


24-2971
Pub. price $17.95

74-8000
Pub. price $24



17-7882
Pub. price $24



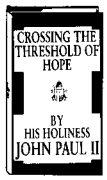
32-8155
Pub. price $22.95

82-8168
Pub. price $24.95

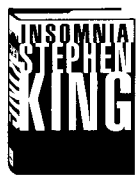
87-7583
Pub. price $22.95

61-6292
Pub. price $21.50

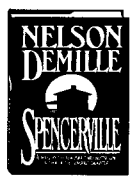
22-8757
Pub. price $23.95



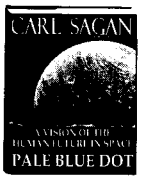
30-7597
Pub. price $20



12-6394
Pub. price $27.95



57-7619
Pub. price $23.95



22-8660
Pub. price $35

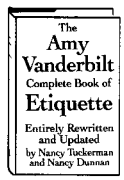
BOMC Special Edition

62-8301
Price $16.95

62-8430
Pub. price $23

Choose any 4 books for only $1.

Plus, the chance to buy a 5th for only $4.99



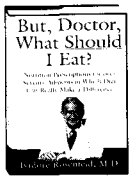
24-8053
Pub. price $32

BOMC Exclusive Edition

42-8285
Price $26.95

52-8583
Pub. price $23

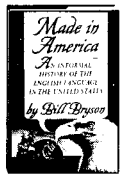
62-8229
Pub. price $25



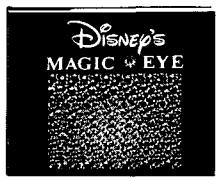
62-8785
Pub. price $25

42-8957
Pub. price $21

87-4193
Pub. price $29.95

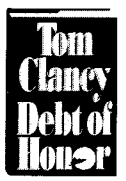


82-8883
Pub. price $23

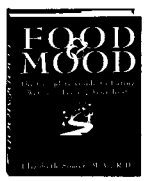


11-6296
Pub. price $12.95

82-8658
Pub. price $25



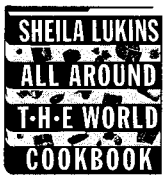
74-2902
Pub. price $25.95



52-8941
Pub. price $25

12-8852
Pub. price $24

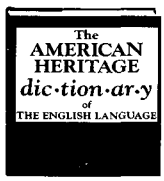
27-4839
Pub. price $35



87-4796
Pub. price $27.95

42-8164
Pub. price $20

22-8170
Pub. price $23



90-9969
Pub. price $39.95

BOMC®

Book-of-the-Month Club®

Where book lovers belong.

6 Reasons To Start Membership Today:

1. **The offer:** Save up to $120 off publishers' prices when you take 4 books for only $1, plus shipping and handling. You need buy only 2 books at the regular low Club prices in the next year. **Bonus Offer:** Take a fifth book now for only $4.99 and buy just one more book in the next year. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

2. **You get:** High-quality books, delivered to your door.

3. **Free:** You'll receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News* up to 17 times a year (approximately every 3 weeks). It reviews our Main Selection and more than 200 other fine books.

4. **Choice:** If you want the Main Selection, do nothing; it will be sent automatically. If you want another book, or no book, send us the Reply Form by the given date. If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, just send it back and owe nothing.

5. **No hassles:** Your membership may be discontinued, by you or by the Club, at any time after you have purchased 2 additional books.

6. **Staying is better:** Our Book-Dividend plan offers special savings of 50% to 75% off publishers' prices.

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., Camp Hill, PA 17012-0001

#011

YES! I want to keep up-to-date with all the best books in print. Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the 4 books I've chosen for a free 10-day examination. If I keep them, you'll bill me for just $1, plus shipping and handling charges. I agree to buy 2 more books at the regular low Club prices in the next year.

5-M8

Indicate the 4 books you want by number: ___ ___ ___ ___

Extra Bonus Offer! Take your First Selection now for just $4.99, plus shipping and handling. You then have to buy only 1 more book in the next year.

A123-3-1 ___

Name _____
(Please print clearly.)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Do you have a telephone? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Have you ever bought anything by mail in the past? ☐ YES ☐ NO

How have you paid for your mail-order purchases? (Check all that apply.)
☐ CASH ☐ CREDIT CARD ☐ CHECK ☐ MONEY ORDER

Send no money now. Mail this coupon today. All orders subject to approval. © 1995 BOMC
Prices and offer may differ in Canada.

WHAT TYPES OF BOOKS DO YOU LIKE?
(Please circle one number for each category.)

	STRONGLY DISLIKE	SOMEWHAT DISLIKE	NO OPINION	SOMEWHAT LIKE	STRONGLY LIKE
A. **Mystery/Suspense Fiction** (Tom Clancy, Agatha Christie, Stephen King)	1	2	3	4	5
B. **Popular Fiction** (Peter Benchley, Anne Tyler, James A. Michener)	1	2	3	4	5
C. **History, Biography, Politics**	1	2	3	4	5
D. **Self Help** (How-To, Health, Human Behavior, Language)	1	2	3	4	5
E. **Scholarly Books** (Philosophy, Science, Religion, Classics, Poetry, Reference)	1	2	3	4	5
F. **Family and Fun** (Cookbooks, Crafts, Art, Travel, Pets, Humor, Children's books)	1	2	3	4	5
G. **Business, Finance**	1	2	3	4	5
H. **Sports**	1	2	3	4	5

Guarantee of Satisfaction

You may examine your introductory books for 10 days, free. If you are not satisfied, for any reason whatsoever, simply return the books and you will be under no further obligation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own extensive banking background, they might benefit from interaction with the likes of Kasten or Lehrman.

■ In order to sell the original misbegotten $40 billion Mexican loan guarantee to Congress, Alan Greenspan and Robert Rubin repeatedly raised the spectre of a global apocalypse. If we did not "rescue" Mexico, the rest of the world's banking, economic, and financial-market systems would collapse. A recent *Wall Street Journal* story properly debunks the Greenspan–Rubin scare tactic. From early December through mid-February, stock markets in emerging countries that undertook significant pro-market and sound-money reforms survived quite nicely during the so-called global crisis. Stock markets in Singapore, Chile, and the Czech Republic were essentially flat during the period. Emerging nations with partial or faltering reforms, including Brazil and Hungary, did indeed suffer mightily during the Mexican breakdown. But except for Canada, which itself looks more and more like a Third World country, the rest of the G-7 nations were virtually unaffected. In other words, private global investment capital is discerning and mobile. It knows a good deal from a bad one. It will not be intimidated by disaster scenarios conjured up by finance officials. Nor was Rush Limbaugh impressed when Greenspan tried to sell him the disaster scenario. He rebuffed Greenspan. Limbaugh for Fed chairman?

■ Senator David Pryor (D., Ark.) happened to think of the United States Constitution and realized he hadn't seen it for 44 years, since he was a teen. So off he went to the archives for a look, taking along several staff members. This is the first case in 44 years of any liberal seeing the Constitution, so the moment must be recorded for posterity. What would happen if more of them found out about it is beyond imagining.

■ The latest EPA folly is the jailing of a Honolulu sewage works manager, Thomas Mariani, and his assistant, Michael Weitzenhoff, for unknowingly exceeding their EPA permit to discharge sludge into the ocean. The 18-page EPA permit allowed the East Honolulu treatment plant an average daily discharge of 976 pounds of sludge. The EPA showed that over a 14-month period the plant had discharged an average of 1,038 pounds per day, 6.4 per cent over its limit. A lifeguard who regularly surfed well offshore complained to the EPA about a murky plume from the plant's outfall pipe. No one else complained. There is no record of any swimmer or anyone else who got sick, or any wildlife that was damaged. No cleanup was needed. For this the EPA charged managers Mariani and Weitzenhoff with a 31-count indictment under the Clean Water Act, including permit violations, conspiracy, perjury, making false statements, filing false reports, and on and on. Mariani and Weitzenhoff are serving 33 months and 21 months in jail respectively. The Clean Water Act is unlike traditional statutes, which permit everything except that which is specifically prohibited. The act prohibits all conduct affecting "waters of the United States" except that which is permitted, and the meaning of EPA permits is often quite obscure, enabling the Federal Government to exact heavy penalties in an arbitrary fashion. Honolulu's municipal Sand Island Plant has had more than 10,000 violations of its EPA permit over several years, but the EPA never filed any charges against it. Time for Newt and Congress to discharge some regulations.

■ Interviewed last week on the Peggy Noonan TV series *On Values*, Michael "Politics of Meaning" Lerner still had a picture of himself shaking hands with Hillary Clinton prominently displayed behind him. Mr. Lerner, editor of the leftist Jewish magazine *Tikkun*, had been milking his alleged relationship with the First Couple since they came to office. But then Mrs. Clinton wrote a prissy letter to *Esquire* describing Lerner as "a magazine editor who paid a short courtesy call in my office and has promoted the perception he is my guru." Burned up by the insult, Lerner denounced the Clintons as betrayers, who "never lived up to the politics of meaning" anyway. Yikes! It's all a shame, because the Clintons deserve Michael Lerner: his "politics of meaning" was about as meaningful as the President's newest "New Covenant." The warring parties should kiss and make up. Here's an idea: Lerner has a PhD. Why not make *him* Surgeon General?

■ ACU Political Director Bill Pascoe noted that the powerhouse Duke Blue Devils went 0 and 8 in ACC basketball play after David Gergen arrived at Duke.

■ Primetime network television was the last place you'd expect to find iconoclastic journalism—at least until John Stossel came along. Last April, in his first solo documentary for ABC News, Mr. Stossel violated a basic principle of TV reporting by putting environmental hazards into perspective. In "Are We Scaring Ourselves to Death?," he noted that the hazards re-

Unsatisfactory

Like a Dali painting
  Where the eye can see
Melting watches heading for
  Far infinity,
Mr. Clinton's budget
  Shows 200 bil
As a yearly deficit,
  Heading toward a tril.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

END-OF-SEASON SALE. SAVE $50.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY LIMITED-EDITION OFFICIAL A-2 FLYING JACKET

Own the jacket worn by our World War II flying heroes—now with a special commemorative lining!

SALE! ONLY $209

ACT NOW! A piece of American History is on sale!

With daring, determination and extraordinary courage, the gallant pilots of the U.S. Army Air Corps took to the skies during World War II to defend freedom. When our young heroes climbed into their cockpits, they wore the legendary A-2 Leather Flying Jacket. The A-2 was lightweight and comfortable, yet "tough as nails" and identified its wearer as one of an elite breed of fighting men.

Now, in honor of victory, you can acquire ***The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket*** at $50 off the regular price.

Genuine Military Issue. Not a Commercial Reproduction.

Cooper Sportswear was an original supplier of A-2 jackets during World War II and today still produces official military issue A-2's for the Air Force. Cooper will produce ***The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket*** only until the end of the 50th anniversary year of World War II victory. Each is distinguished by a specially commissioned pictorial map lining. You will receive a Certificate of Authenticity stating that yours is a limited-edition A-2. ***Not a reproduction and not a look-alike copy—this is the genuine article! Available exclusively from Willabee & Ward.***

Proudly Made in the U.S.A. to U.S. Air Force Specifications.

The 50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket is made in the U.S.A., using material and production methods specified by the U.S. Air Force. Premium goatskin assures ruggedness and great looks. Official military issue details include knitted cuffs and waistband, regulation snap-down collar, shoulder epaulets, and roomy snap-close pockets.

MADE IN U. S. A.

Save $50 Off Regular Price. Convenient Monthly Installments.

You can own this jacket for just $209 (plus $9.50 shipping and handling) payable in five convenient monthly credit card installments of $43.70. Satisfaction is guaranteed. You can return the jacket in original condition within 30 days for exchange or refund. Available in even sizes 34-52 regular and long. Call about larger sizes (to 60) for $50 more. (For best fit, order one size larger than your usual jacket size.) Questions about sizing? Call—we'll fit you over the phone. Quantities are limited, so call now!

Phone orders normally shipped next business day.

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534
Extension 781-1044

© 1995 MBI

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

Satisfaction Guaranteed.

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534
Extension 781-1044

Please send me_____ ***50th Anniversary Limited-Edition Official A-2 Flying Jacket(s).***

Size(s) (Even sizes 34-52):_____ ☐ Reg. ☐ Long

For each jacket, charge 5 monthly installments of $43.70* to my credit card:

☐VISA ☐MasterCard ☐Discover ☐Am. Ex.

_____
Credit Card No. Exp. Date

Name_____
(Please print clearly.)

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____

Signature_____
(All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for $209, plus $9.50 shipping/handling, a total of $218.50* for each jacket.

**Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment. Higher shipping/handling outside U.S.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceiving the most attention are generally the least significant and that the attempt to eliminate all risk carries heavy costs in dollars and human lives. In his October documentary, "The Blame Game," Stossel contrasted the American tradition of self-reliance with the growing tendency to whine in the face of adversity. His most recent documentary, "Men, Women, and the Sex Difference," which aired in February, presented convincing evidence that there is a biological basis for sex differences in a wide range of aptitudes and attitudes, something that orthodox feminists deny as an article of faith. Mr. Stossel, whose current contract promises six more documentaries, handles complex issues with a subtlety rarely seen on television, while managing to

Right Data

The Funding Fallacy

RIGHT NOW it looks like the balanced-budget amendment will fall short of the 38 states needed for ratification. Many governors, especially in states with large poverty populations, fear Congress will cut social-program funds, leaving them the entire burden.

If only they kept the big picture in mind! At last count twenty states, many from the economically beleaguered Northeast, are losers under the current system of federalism. Each tax dollar their citizens send to Washington generates less than a dollar of federal spending in the state.

Why the funding gap? A prime factor is the disproportionate power given small states under the Constitution. Rural America may be shrinking, but rural senators have kept the farm program bigger than ever. Deficit states, according to a study by Senator Daniel P. Moynihan's office, also receive $487, or 44 per cent less in per capita defense outlays than surplus states. Even crime spending, a natural for urban America, is increasingly diverted to the hinterland. The 1994 Omnibus Crime Act, for example, stipulates that half of all new policemen be in cities of 150,000 or fewer inhabitants.

THE DEFICIT WITH WASHINGTON, 1993

	Federal Taxes (per capita)	Federal Spending (per capita)	$ Received Per $ Paid*	State Personal Income (Rank) (per capita)
New Jersey	$6,194	$4,555	$0.67	$26,967 (2)
Connecticut	6,581	5,017	0.69	28,110 (1)
Illinois	5,005	4,066	0.74	22,582 (10)
New York	5,285	4,802	0.83	24,623 (3)
California	4,624	4,720	0.93	21,821 (12)
Texas	3,990	4,174	0.95	19,189 (31)
Pennsylvania	4,466	4,792	0.98	21,351 (16)
U.S.	$4,382	$4,814	$1.00	$20,817

* Adjusted so that total U.S. taxes equals total U.S. spending.
Note: Other deficit states include Delaware, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin. Source: The Tax Foundation.

Many deficit states have enormous urban poverty populations. But they also have higher living costs and higher per capita incomes. Not surprisingly, per capita federal tax payments are also considerably larger—$4,730 in deficit states versus $4,086 in surplus states. Taxes explain about one-third of the balance-of-payments differences among the states.

Why should surplus states support a balanced-budget amendment? After all, they generally are less populous, poorer, and consequently able to pull down more than their share of federal money. Since 1987 federal grants to states and cities have leapt from $108 billion to $217 billion, a 56 per cent rise after inflation. Federal grants now underwrite more than half of some state budgets.

But look closely. These are *matching* grants. Lured by the "buy one, get one free" arrangement, surplus states have had to raise taxes far higher than they otherwise would have. Congress has also ordered costly expansions in eligibility. Since 1990, for example, states have had to make Medicaid available to all poor children under the age of 19 and to all pregnant women in families below 133 per cent of the poverty line. Many states have cut local programs to feed the Medicaid monster.

In theory, the states can simply refuse federal grants. In practice, they have generally found them irresistable. Washington has exploited the addiction, threatening to withhold grants, particularly Medicaid and highway funds, to achieve goals only loosely connected to the grant. When Congress set a 55 mph speed limit in 1974 and a minimum drinking age of 21 in 1984, it threatened to withhold highway funds from states that failed to comply.

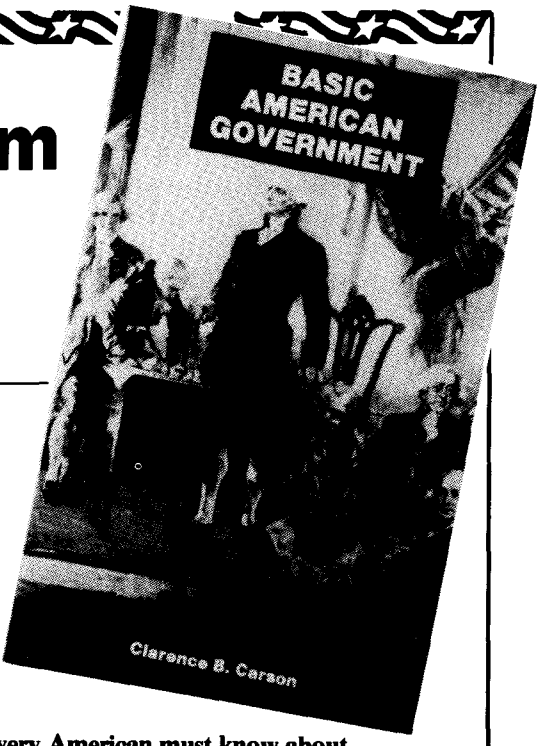
Block grants are touted as a less intrusive alternative. But they instruct local government exactly how and when to spend allocated funds. As for perverse micromanagement, a provision of the 1994 Omnibus Crime Act raises grant amounts when a city's crime rate goes *up*.

A tough balanced-budget amendment could force Congress to "devolve" programs to the states, along with the required tax base. All states would come out ahead.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why does this differ from every other handbook on our government?



Clarence Carson pulls no punches as he explains why:

> "It would be a considerable fraud to do a book on American government which talked as if the Constitution were still being substantially observed, that pretended that when Presidents took the oath of office they intended to observe the bounds set by the Constitution, that Congressmen recited their pledges with the same intent, and that federal judges were still construing the Constitution as it was written. In sum, any book on American government worthy of the name ought to make clear how remote from the Constitution the government has become."

This is the book. Which is why we believe that it's the only book on our government that Americans can trust today. Carson gives you all the basics, including:

- ► The roots of the American system, both scriptural and secular . . . key contributions of ancient Greece and Rome . . . the Middle Ages . . . the Renaissance . . . the Reformation . . . modern Europe and England . . . and our own colonial experience
- ► The battle over the Constitution. The framers' real intentions, as shown in their writings
- ► Betrayed, especially in our time: the letter AND the spirit of the Constitution
- ► How government functions at each level — federal, state and local. The court system, from justice of the peace to the Supreme Court
- ► The changing presidency. The impact (for better or worse) of Washington . . . Jefferson . . . Lincoln . . . FDR and his successors
- ► The rise of the Welfare State. The staggering growth of government spending and bureaucracy
- ► Massive departures from the Constitution in our century (on the way to the Leviathan state). How to get the government back on course

Use coupon to get this $32.95, 603-page volume FREE

What every American must know about our government

Carson exposes errors and myths that litter most other texts on our government as he refutes decades of liberal propaganda:

- The God-derived "natural law" principles on which our government was based. How they were corrupted, and finally abandoned. The secularist philosophies that took over
- Why the Civil War was unconstitutional. How it upset the balance of powers and led to unprecedented federal control
- The three events that mark the "great divide" in American history — even more than the Civil War
- Why it is inaccurate to call our system a "democracy"
- The rise of "judicial activism." The Court's effort to drive religion and morality out of public life. How Constitutional *protections* of religion gradually became laws against religion
- How new "rights" not found in the Constitution (e.g., abortion, pornography) were created by Court fiat
- The difference between revolutionary and evolutionary socialism. How the latter dominated our government in recent decades — in everything but name

This book is valuable for parents who want to correct the misinformation fed to our children today. Homeschoolers will never find a better text.

But please, don't think of this simply as a fine textbook. Think of it as the perfect companion to your own ideas about where our country SHOULD be headed; and the ideal guidebook for your own efforts to restore decency to government and society. Clarence Carson puts the sources and the answers at your fingertips.

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates. Books on current issues, religion, education, homeschooling, politics, children's books, etc. — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books are offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-95% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do not count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

33 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me FREE the 603-page, $32.95 *Basic American Government* by Clarence B. Carson. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-250

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ *State* _____ *Zip* _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

entertain. It turns out there's nothing quite as fascinating as watching the slaughter of sacred cows.

■ In a bid to legitimize same-sex unions, an organization within the Episcopal church has released a "Rite for Commitment to Life Together," a sex-neutral alternative to the marriage rite in the Book of Common Prayer. It reads in part: "I . . . take you . . . to have and to hold from this day forward, to love and to cherish as my companion, lover, and friend. Amen." Although the rite has not yet been approved by the hierarchy, the group states that a local bishop may allow new rites "when no service or prayer has been provided in the Book." Prayers to Pan, anyone? Or Baal?

■ Where is Dr. Foster from? Where was Joycelyn Elders from? What state ranks dead last in public health? Arkansas.

■ Britain's Independent Television Commission, using its authority to regulate advertising on Britain's commercial channels, has banned as too sexually provocative an ad showing a mother kissing a baby's bottom, and found too terrifying to children an ad in which a boy's head shot off after imbibing a tangy soft drink. Now it has decided that the nation's health would be menaced by an ad in which a popular comedian fills his supermarket cart with chocolate bars: a bad nutritional example. The ad would be acceptable only if "it was clearly established that the [bulk] purchase was not for individual use." Self-appointed health lobbyists want the ITC to go further and forbid *all* commercials for fatty and sugary foods when children are likely to be watching television. Mary Poppins, meet Winston Smith.

■ The deficit will go up. In the Administration's mysterious arithmetic, this is "deficit reduction." That's like reducing your weight by not exercising and stuffing your face with double chocolate malts.

■ Jimmy Carter has finally been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Maybe if someone nominates him *right now* for the Literature Prize, he will stop writing poetry.

Disentitlementarianism

THE 104th Congress is about to revisit 1993's health-care fight. The battle will again be over unworkable, one-size-fits-all, government-run health care, but this time the system is a reality instead of a proposal. Medicaid and Medicare are the quintessential entitlements, their perpetual growth cutting a red swath through the federal budget as far as anyone cares to project, their archaic rules blighting the nation's health policy. Reforming them is essential not only if Republicans want to reach the "glidepath" to a balanced budget, but if they are to break the decades-old welfare-state mold of American politics.

Medicaid, the $158-billion-a-year health program for the poor, is the easy part, because its constituency is not particularly vocal or well-organized. Capitol Hill Republicans are currently trying to negotiate a package with the governors that resembles the welfare-reform deal; the feds would send their shares of the Medicaid program to the states in some form of block grants, allowing governors more flexibility in exchange for funding that rises at a slower annual rate. The hope is that greater freedom combined with the funding squeeze will prompt governors to discover ways—like managed care—to check the program's roughly 10 per cent a year rate of growth.

Medicare, the corresponding program for the elderly, is much trickier because its beneficiaries aren't necessarily needy. Medicare Part A covers hospital care, and is paid for by a trust fund bankrolled with a portion of the Social Security payroll tax. Projected to go bankrupt around the turn of the century, Part A needs a radical overhaul. But Republicans are likely to look first at Part B, the technically voluntary portion of the program (although almost everyone eligible participates) that covers doctors' bills, outpatient care, and other services. Each Part B beneficiary pays a premium of $46.10 a month, in exchange for which (after a $100 deductible) the government picks up 80 per cent of the tab for the covered medical expenses. It's a sweetheart deal for seniors that drives up the demand for medical services and hence their price. (Remember that "health-care crisis" President Clinton used to talk about?)

Republicans will be tempted to find nickel-and-dime savings in the Part B program, requiring co-payments for certain services, squeezing payments to medical providers, and increasing premiums. All these measures are certainly justified fiscally, but politically they amount to a cheap welfare statism that's unlikely to sell well. Republicans should think boldly. Senator Judd Gregg (R., N.H.) and Representative Bill Thomas (R., Calif.), chairman of the relevant subcommittee in the House, are talking about a "Medicheck" voucher that would allow beneficiaries to shop on their own for an insurance package. That is a start. A more radical idea, pushed by economists Gary and Aldona Robbins, is pegging beneficiaries' Medicare deductibles—what they pay out of pocket before the government kicks in—to their incomes, say at 15 per cent. Then, as much as 15 per cent of a beneficiary's income would be at stake when he is making medical choices, thereby increasing cost consciousness, while the government would ensure that no one is wiped out by a crisis.

President Clinton ostentatiously left Medicaid and Medicare untouched in his budget, signaling he'll sit out these policy debates in favor of demagoguery about

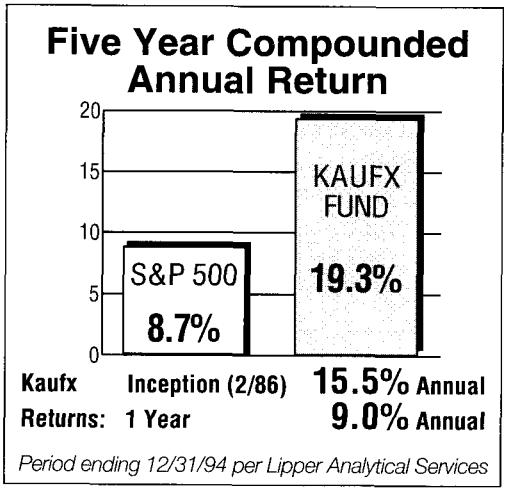
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

#1 Performing Fund Since the Market Low of 1987

*—per Mutual Fund Forecaster**

The Kaufmann Fund®

A Small Company Growth Fund



Lawrence Auriana and Hans Utsch,
Portfolio co-managers with over 60 years of
combined Wall Street experience

More than twice the average total annual return of all funds

(5-year period ending 12/31/94. Out of 2,326 equity funds, per Lipper Analytical Services)

Morningstar 5 Star (★★★★★) Rating**

(Out of 1,109 equity funds as of 11/30/94)

For information call:

1-800-666-9233

IRA

* *Out of 637 open-end equity funds, for the period of 12/4/87-12/31/94.*

** *Morningstar ratings are subject to change every month and are calculated from the funds' three- and five-year average annual returns with appropriate sales charge adjustments and a risk factor that reflects performance relative to three-month Treasury bill monthly returns. Ten percent of the funds in an investment category receive five stars.*

Total returns for periods ending December 31, 1994 are historical and include change in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. There is a 0.2% redemption fee and a 12b-1 fee in excess of 0.25%. The S&P is an unmanaged index consisting of the common stock of 500 publicly traded U.S. companies. For more complete information including charges, expenses, and risks on small-cap stocks please read the prospectus carefully before you invest. The performance cited represents past performance which is not indicative of future results; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost.

THE KAUFMANN FUND, INC.

140 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 • Fax (212) 661-2266

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GOP bashing of the poor and elderly. The President obviously missed the lesson of last year's health-care debate, which was that Americans are deeply suspicious of the Federal Government. So, as Republicans try to reform these hulking entitlements, they can take comfort in one last similarity with last year's health-care debate: the President will be on the wrong side.

The Latest Welfare Trap

REPUBLICAN PLANS for welfare reform came unraveled last week as Florida Republican Clay Shaw, chairman of the principal subcommittee overseeing the effort, unveiled a new bill which repudiated major elements of the Republican Contract with America. Shaw's bill, which will become the major legislative vehicle for reform, took the expected step of ending the entitlement element in Aid to Families with Dependent Children but surprised all by abandoning federal work requirements for AFDC recipients.

The new bill nominally requires 2 per cent of AFDC parents to work in 1996 and increases the amount to 20 per cent in 2003. Republicans were shocked when Democrats quickly pointed out that the Shaw bill was more lenient on work than the Clinton bill and existing law. Even worse, the bill's pitiful work requirements are meaningless. "States can apparently define work as looking for a job one day each year. This bill reverses two decades of progress on workfare and effectively takes Congress out of the business of requiring work in federally funded welfare programs," says Robert Rector, welfare analyst at the Heritage Foundation.

Nearly 90 per cent of voters believe that welfare recipients should work for benefits. Shaw's collapse on this popular issue was the result of strong behind-the-scenes pressure by Michigan Governor John Engler. Representing the National Governors' Association, Engler has strongly opposed the work and anti-illegitimacy provisions of the Contract.

Engler has a national reputation as a strong proponent of welfare reform. And that record has some substance. His fame comes from abolishing Michigan's General Relief, a program that gave cash largely to able-bodied single males. But he also has urged fellow governors to aggressively expand the caseload of the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program by providing cash benefits of around $5,000 per year to children with vague "attention-deficit disorders." This practice of ballooning welfare rolls by giving "crazy checks" to any child who occasionally acts up has been deplored even by the *Washington Post*.

What explains the discrepancy? The answer is simple: General Relief was funded by the state; SSI is funded by the feds. Engler's attitude toward federal money should serve as a clear warning to those conservatives who believe that welfare reform means raising some $250 billion in welfare funds each year in Washington and then blindly dumping it on the states with "no strings."

Everyone agrees reform means requiring welfare recipients to behave responsibly. The reform signal fails to achieve that aim, ironically, because the governors, as the nation's largest welfare recipients, are insisting on receiving their federal largesse without requirements or strings. Following that line, once again they have gutted real reform.

D'Amato Opens Hearings

No, not to chart Whitewater's flow,
But where the dough that Mexico
Received from Mr. Clinton goes;
So be prepared to hold your nose
When Al's report reveals The Street
(The one on Wall) is on the teat.

W. H. VON DREELE

Who Is Henry Foster?

IT DEPENDS which day you ask. First the White House trumpeted the "fact" that Dr. Foster, its nominee for the post of Surgeon General, had performed only one abortion. (This is the same White House that says abortions shouldn't matter anyway, since they're perfectly legal.) The figure was quickly bumped up to fewer than 12—Dr. Foster's estimate at the time. Then a transcript surfaced in which a Dr. Henry Foster took credit for seven hundred abortions and amniocenteses. Dr. Foster denied that his namesake was himself but allowed that, as one hospital's records show, he did perform at least 39 abortions. Then an article by Dr. Foster in a medical journal turned up, describing his supervision of 59 abortions by an experimental vaginal suppository. Dr. Foster says he "abhors" abortion and got involved with the suppository experiment only to maintain the accreditation of a residency program, which in any event lost its accreditation. As yet, nobody has explained why an accreditation council would require that a hospital experiment with pill-induced abortions.

Then another article was discovered in which Dr. Foster discussed involuntary hysterectomies he had performed on retarded women. This last, says White House official John Podesta, was "consistent with medical theory and practice at the time"—like the tortures inflicted on George III in *The Madness of King George*. Who knows what other milestones of Dr. Foster's ca-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reer as a "baby doctor," as Joycelyn Elders likes to call him, will turn up next?

At church on Sunday in Nashville, Dr. Foster heard a pastor denounce his treatment as "a high-tech lynching"—a reference to Clarence Thomas. But Thomas was persecuted on the basis of hearsay. Doubts about Dr. Foster's ethics and honesty arise from Nexis. President Clinton pooh-poohs such concerns, especially as they touch on abortion.

Of late, the post of Surgeon General has been turned into a forum for mischief, which is one reason for canning the job altogether. In theory, though, it's supposed to be a position of moral authority through which an outstanding physician may influence his colleagues for the good. That's why Americans, who worry about medical ethics and abortion in particular, are worried about Henry Foster. Even the ones who favor abortion "rights" are made queasy by the thought of it, which is why they insist on talking in euphemisms (e.g., "choice"). The senators who will vote on Dr. Foster's confirmation represent those worried Americans, and should vote accordingly.

Exit Quayle; Exit Reed?

FORMER Vice President Dan Quayle, the most recent dropout from the 1996 Republican presidential race, was admired by those in the GOP who believed that politicians ought to know how to spell "virtues." Ignoring the media's derision, they agreed with the *Atlantic Monthly* cover that declared "Dan Quayle was right"—about illegitimacy, family breakup, and abortion. Quayle's decision to sit the race out, following William Bennett's, leaves this bloc without a champion.

On the heels of Quayle's announcement, Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition warned a C-PAC meeting that "pro-life and pro-family voters" would sit on their hands if the GOP had a ticket or a platform that did not "share Ronald Reagan's belief in the sanctity of innocent human life." Reed's statement was a warning shot for pols like Bob Dole and Phil Gramm, who are generally conservative on social issues, but who do not make them central to their image and their philosophy. It was also a blast at the pro-abortion Republican darlings of the media—Christine Whitman, William Weld, and Pete Wilson. Whitman and Weld, governors of medium-size Northeastern states, could not have hoped for more than a vice-presidential nod; Wilson has higher ambitions and, as governor of California, a stronger basis for gratifying them. The California primary will be in March next year, early in the cycle, and six of the seven post-war winning Republican tickets have had Californians on them.

The seventh was Bush–Quayle in 1988. Republicans carry California, and the country, when they hew to conservative principles, across the board. Bush stuck with the pro-lifers in 1992, but abandoned tax cutting and opposition to quotas, and lost. A Wilson or a Weld who talks tough on taxes or immigration, but who backs abortion on demand, will lose in 1996. Ralph Reed is calling the GOP back, not just to what he considers morality, but to electoral common sense.

Zedillo's Posse

WHEN THE Mexican government moved, in mid February, to end the rebellion in Chiapas, it was the first action by President Zedillo that gave promise he could govern Mexico.

The rebellion in Chiapas was the beginning of the peso crisis, for it shook confidence in Mexico's future. It was not so much that one or two thousand men could find the guns, radios, and face masks for their mini-revolution, but that the Mexican government (under Carlos Salinas and Ernesto Zedillo) seemed paralyzed. Rather than crush the rebels, it negotiated with them, appointed peace commissions filled with leftist clerics, and spouted conciliatory rhetoric. The government seem embarrassed to declare the rebellion illegitimate when its own democratic bona fides were much in doubt, a loss of nerve that investors noticed. Whatever the manifest failures of democracy in Mexico, they will not be corrected by allowing masked guerrillas to run the country or intimidate its officials.

To this day we do not know the true story of Chiapas. Who organized the guerrillas and equipped them? What role, if any, was played by former Sandinistas and Guatemalan guerrillas, and by Cuba? What help did they get from members of the Mexican establishment who sought to embarrass President Salinas on the very day NAFTA went into effect?

President Zedillo seems to have had enough. It would be a disaster for Mexico if now, having asserted himself, he backed off. Yet that seems to be what the Clinton Administration is advising. When Boris Yeltsin bloodily crushed the rebellion in Chechnya, the

Where Is Everybody?

With Dole still humming Miller
  And Gramm a sleeping pill,
While Alexander runs as
  The scenery stands still,
I grab my Arrid roll-on
  Though Bill and Hillary
Lurch toward the next election
  Like hulks upon the sea.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clinton Administration regarded it as an "internal affair" for Russia. But in Mexico, the Clintonites were out in force the minute Mr. Zedillo acted. The *Washington Post* reported on January 11 that "Zedillo's get-tough policy elicited statements of concern from the U.S. State Department and Amnesty International"—two institutions that under Mr. Clinton are increasingly difficult to distinguish. Of course the United States may complain about human-rights abuses, but we might have the courtesy to wait and see if any take place before issuing a "statement of concern."

Washington should now be advising Zedillo to take hold of the reins of power. The alternative is the kind of wavering, shilly-shallying, and policy reverses that have brought discredit on the Clinton Administration and could, in Mexico, bring the government down.

Poorly Endowed

DEFENDERS OF the National Endowments for the Humanities and the Arts have had some success in selling the idea that criticism of these institutions represents a philistine hostility toward the arts and toward scholarship. The reverse is true. Both should be abolished forthwith precisely out of a concern for the honesty of scholarship and the vitality of the arts. Congressmen should heed the testimony of those who have been closely connected with both endowments and who call for their abolition (including *NR* Senior Editor Jeffrey Hart, who is the only person to have served two six-year terms on the National Council of NEH).

Both endowments had a corrupt inception in Lyndon Johnson's jealousy of the "culture" of Camelot. Creating the endowments and funding them at $10 million apiece, he thought he would shuck his Pedernales image and bribe the intellectuals into adoration. For his efforts he got *MacBird*.

With somewhat the same motives, Richard Nixon vastly increased funding for the NEA and the NEH. Their budgets last year were $167 million apiece. The scandalous recent "standards" in American history, dripping with multiculturalism and contempt for the American republic, were an NEH project. The Senate condemned them 99-1, Senator J. Bennett Johnston voting nay because the condemnation was too soft. Those standards, right now, are doing incalculable damage to American secondary education. The NEH, as it has evolved, is anti-scholarship. Real art, whether Shakespeare or Matisse, is always surprising. Bureaucracies fund clichés, parodies of real freshness, humdrum rebellion. The NEA bureaucracy is philistine, anti-art.

If Republican reformers cannot abolish these two agencies, for which there is no constitutional warrant, then it is hard to see how they can abolish anything—not even the absurd Department of Education, Jimmy Carter's bribe to the teachers' unions for their support against Ted Kennedy in 1980. If individual states want arts or humanities programs, let them set them up, fund them, and keep a sharp eye on them close to home.

The Arts! The Arts! Part Deux.

AMERICAN debate on government aid to the arts is echoed in Britain, where the Arts Council now receives, in addition to direct taxpayer subventions, a share of the generous proceeds of Britain's new National Lottery. Might not Karen Finley and Andres Serrano, outraged by the the fiscal philistinism of the new Babbitts, be drawn across the Atlantic by the prospect of big bucks, er, sorry, artistic freedom? It cannot be ruled out. Indeed, Peter Simple, the London *Sunday Telegraph*'s in-house satirist, always racing to stay one step ahead of reality, recently described a local arts "scene" into which an NEA-grantee-from-hell had all too plausibly erupted:

"Marylou Ogreburg, founder and director of the Marylou Ogreburg Multi-racial Bread and Marmite People's Street Dance Theater, is 'hopeful,' as she says, of funding from the National Lottery for a big increase in her grant from the Arts Council.

"Marylou, a tall, gaunt, striking woman with round lens-less spectacles and an unforgettable laugh, comes from Dissentville, Ohio, and was one of the immortal 'Grand Rapids Sixteen' who defied Senator McCarthy when he sentenced Ed Yadler, the legendary miniature tympanist, to be burned alive, later allowing him to carry on as before.

"Marylou's group has lately been concentrating on street performances in the Nerdley district. Their brilliant mimed dance sequence *We Demand More Aid for the Performing Arts*, in aid of Peace in Bosnia, AIDS research, anti-racism and other approved causes, has effectively cleared whole streets and sent any people caught in the open running for their lives and barricading themselves indoors.

"'It will be a disgrace to our so-called civilisation if Marylou doesn't get a good share of the lottery money,' says a spokesman for the publicity branch of the community outreach division of Nerdley Arts. 'The neglect of the arts in this country has made it the laughing stock of the world . . .'

"Meanwhile, the Aztec community, who claim to be descended from immigrants that established themselves in the area after crossing the Atlantic in stone boats in the Dark Ages, are pressing for their own share of the lottery money . . . 'It is a human right,' says one of the Aztec leaders, 43-year-old South Shields-born Royston Vibes, a 25th-year sociology stu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dent at Nerdley University, 'that we should make our own unique contribution to the Arts scene.'

"The police have told Vibes that any attempt to include human sacrifice in its contribution might mean the curtailment of its grant, since human sacrifice is still technically illegal in Britain."

Taxpayers, of course, do not count as human for the purpose of sacrifice in Britain nor, increasingly, in America.

Racial Politics at Rutgers

LAST NOVEMBER, during a two-hour faculty meeting at a Rutgers University branch, President Francis L. Lawrence discussed minority (largely black) admissions policy and uttered words that led to a black eruption on the university campus. He said that "the average SATs for African-Americans is 750. Do we set standards in the future so we don't admit anybody? Or do we deal with a disadvantaged population that doesn't have the genetic, hereditary background to have a higher average?"

Killer words aside, the overall structure of his argument was decidedly pro–affirmative action. He was saying that if Rutgers a) wants many more blacks admitted, and b) their SAT average is 750, then c) we have to forget about standardized tests and admit the numbers we want.

Now an average of 750, out of a possible 1,600, is very low; that it is an average means that many applicants score lower as well as higher. It is very doubtful that a student with an SAT of 750, let alone lower, is capable of serious college work. Among the possible reasons for this disability is that people like President Lawrence have told them that high scores don't matter. And indeed he was telling the students just that on this occasion.

President Lawrence is a long-standing supporter of affirmative action. As a dean at Tulane, he increased black enrollment from 1 to 10 per cent. He has won praise for his heroic efforts to do so at Rutgers. But last November, he allowed a *Bell Curve*-type argument to slip in under his guard. He has said that he and his wife at first thought that even reading that book is immoral—a bizarre statement for an academic or anyone else. Perhaps he felt like the Rev. Dimmesdale in *The Scarlet Letter*. Maybe *The Bell Curve* haunted him as he spoke to the faculty, a case of the fascination of the abomination.

Now the Rutgers campus is in turmoil, though only a few students are participating in arguments conducted by bull horn and threat. Lawrence's resignation has become a "minimum" demand, with other black-centered hiring and subsidy demands tacked on.

And like a good Puritan, Dr. Lawrence is endlessly apologizing, even weeping, abasing himself. So far, he has the support of much of the faculty and also the student body. For the time being he has the support of the trustees. Governor Christine Whitman has been making equivocal statements about his uttering a "stupid remark." But lost in all of this has been the devastation of standards President Francis Lawrence has presided over at Rutgers. If the governor cares about this, no one has heard.

J. William Fulbright, R I P

THE DEATH of former Senator J. William Fulbright produced obituaries that told more about our liberal and media establishments than they told about him.

Fulbright had a perfect record on civil rights: he was always against them. He voted against every civil-rights bill, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Much more important, he was missing in action at the most significant occasion in modern Arkansas history. In 1957, President Eisenhower had to order the United States Army into Little Rock to enforce a school integration order from the United States Supreme Court. Bill Fulbright took that moment to go on an extensive European trip.

Yet he is remembered as a paragon of moral virtue, for the reason that he denounced "American imperialism" and opposed the war in Vietnam. Obituaries have usually mentioned his civil-rights record in paragraph seven or eight or ten, while leading with his record on Vietnam. Fulbright himself said that he could not have supported civil-rights legislation and been re-elected to the Senate (where he chaired the Foreign Relations Committee), and the obituaries have typically accepted this as a cogent defense. It is not a defense but a self-indictment. Fulbright was a hypocrite who voted against civil-rights legislation he later suggested he had favored, and who fled at the moment when his state was in its greatest moral and legal crisis.

Fulbright is said to have been a role model for a young Arkansan who once worked for him, Bill Clinton. If so, their only obvious trait in common is that when duty called, both men went to Europe.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

1) We find your usage of "Far East" to be questionable. It appears on page 6 [Feb. 6 issue]. The problem with "Far East" is that it is archaic usage, and was part of a triple set ("Near East," "Middle East," and "Far East") that labeled the world according to how the globe appeared to persons in London and Paris. We are not dredging up an anti-colonialist argument, but we do argue that any area or territory should be labeled

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as it appears to those in residence, not as it appears to those residing elsewhere.

For example, if you wrote out of a Tokyocentric world view, California would be the Near East; New York would be the Middle East; and London and Paris would be the Far East.

From all points of view, it would be better to abandon "Near East," "Middle East," and "Far East" as terms belonging to a different age, and to use "North Africa," "Southwest Asia," and "East Asia" in their place.

2) We also question the term "reverse discrimination" as used on page 8. What the writer is talking about is just plain "discrimination." The use of "reverse" is a device to degrade, trivialize, or justify the discrimination in question.

If you think about it for a minute, you will realize that there is no such thing as "reverse discrimination"—there is just plain discrimination. To attach "reverse" is to deny the reality of whatever real discrimination is going on.

I urge you to rely on "discrimination" if that is what you mean. My understanding of the CCRI initiative is that it bans "discrimination," not "reverse discrimination."

3) We also question your publishing "WASP" no fewer than 12 times in the oddly written article by Richard J. Neuhaus. We find this term inappropriate, trivializing, insulting, and derogatory for several reasons, and we urge you to discontinue its usage on your pages.

First, "WASP" is derogatory to persons of Protestant persuasion. What other religion would you designate with such a weird acronym? The only similar acronyms we can think of are unsuitable for publication in your magazine or in this letter.

Second, "WASP" is derogatory to persons of English extraction. What other ethnicity would you include in such a bizarre acronym? The only similar acronyms we can think of are unsuitable for publication in your magazine or in this letter.

Third, "WASP" bears no relationship to the designation chosen by those who are labeled thereby. No one we know uses "WASP" as a self-designator. It is not even recognized by the Census Bureau as a frequently used self-designator; the Census Bureau recognizes such off-the-wall designations as "swamp Yankee," so "WASP" is not beneath the bureau's attention. *Some attention should be paid to the designation chosen by those so labeled.*

Fourth, "WASP" is a construct deliberately designed to ridicule and demean those so labeled. Let's take a look at the comments of Professor Nathaniel Weyl on page 5 of *The Creative Elite in America* (1966):

> These leadership elements tend to be predominantly white, Anglo Saxon, and Protestant—WASPs to use the pejorative, synthetic word which is being popularized by sociologists hostile to their status.

"I'm not jogging with you anymore, Ralph."

Let's restate that: *WASP is a synthetic and artificial word that is pejorative and denigrating, and was promoted and inserted into usage by sociologists with a personal motive, i.e., hostility to the social status of those so denigrated.* So why does NATIONAL REVIEW validate such a slur term?

Congratulations on the idea ("Words do mean things.") expressed so ably by Florence King. We urge you to apply the concept throughout your magazine, starting with global designations ("Far East"), racial bias ("reverse discrimination"), and ethnic slurs ("WASP").

Sincerely,
Stanley Womack
Resisting Defamation
San Jose, Calif.

■ Dear Mr. Womack:

But orientations are inevitably arbitrary. Are you recommending that we stop using A.D. because it is offensive to non-Christians? Why should New York bear the burden of being located at 71 degrees west longitude? West of what? What matters is the clarity of the communication, 2) On the matter of "reverse discrimination," the sense is absolutely clear, i.e., discrimination against WASPy types. It is still an act of discrimination, right, but the qualifier conveys the character of that discrimination. 3) The context declares whether WASP is intended as a pejorative. And if it is, why should we object? What's wrong with pejoratives, if they are intended? a) "WASPs brought civilization to the Indians"—non-pejorative and correct. b) "WASPs are nowadays etiolated and for that reason impotent and largely disregarded"—pejorative and correct. Cordially, **—WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE SCENE

Cardinal Sins

RICH LOWRY

Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AFTER the November elections, property-rights groups were underwhelmed by the idea of Representative Ralph Regula presiding over their portion of the revolution. The Ohio Republican was slated to become chairman of the Interior Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, a pivotal position in the battles over the use of federal lands and the regulation of private property. In the 103rd Congress, Regula pushed for limiting mining, grazing, and logging on federal lands, angering Western lawmakers, while helping gut a property-rights amendment to the American Heritages Area Partnership Act. "It was clear the biggest obstacle to making any progress on the environmental front was not the Democrats, but Ralph Regula," says Myron Ebell of the American Land Rights Association.

So private-property groups began a fax campaign targeting Regula and got the attention of Newt Gingrich and soon-to-be Appropriations Committee Chairman Bob Livingston. Livingston stacked Regula's subcommittee, changing a majority–minority ratio that had been 6–4 under the Democrats to 9–5 and appointing new Republicans from New Mexico, Nevada, Washington, and Oregon. Meanwhile, a chastened Regula met with 29 members of the Western States Caucus to assure them of his good will. His subcommittee's hearings so far have been a showcase for right-wingers, and no one would know anything was ever amiss. "Nobody is more sensitive to private-property rights than I am," says Regula. "I have almost three hundred acres of land in Ohio."

If the Republicans are going to come near a balanced budget by 2002, Bob Livingston, a genial ten-term congressman from Louisiana, will have to engage in this sort of heavy persuasion again and again. While Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich (R., Ohio), an eager cutter, has an institutional base that will not offer much resistance, Livingston heads an outfit wholly owned and operated by big spenders for two decades. In the battle over the budget, Livingston leads reluctant warriors, appropriators who must be willing to cut the budget they've spent their careers fattening.

"It's the last bastion of the old world order," says one leadership aide, "and it's not easy for them to make a change." The committee was founded in the mid nineteenth century to check the prodigal impulses of authorizing committees like Education and Labor. But starting in 1974, it evolved into something of a Praetorian Guard for the Imperial Congress. Its 13 subcommittee chairmen, dubbed the "Cardinals," jealously guarded their annual appropriations bills, sometimes allowing subcommittee members to see a draft just hours before mark-up. It was difficult for a member to look beyond his pet portions of a bill, and if he wanted his specific concerns addressed he had to comply with the broader dictates of the chairman anyway. Many mark-ups were secret, roll-call votes were rare, and the whole process was geared toward one goal: spending.

It didn't take long for the Republicans who inhabited this swamp to begin to grow gills. Says Livingston: "Republicans came into the Appropriations Committee and quickly found, if they didn't realize it before they got on, that they had no power whatsoever to influence the downsizing of government or truly inflict cuts, except by nibbling around the edges, which we often did. But once you found that money was going to be spent, then you had to get in there and fight for your own turf, as opposed to someplace else. And basically that was what we did. All of us were part of the system."

Junior committee members have yet to absorb this spending ethic. Freshman Mark Neumann (R., Wis.), in a piece of almost suicidal chutzpa, bucked his chairman on the Defense Subcommittee on his first vote, opposing a supplemental defense bill that was not yet paid for with cuts elsewhere. "Fortunately, I didn't know at the time it was a courageous vote," Neumann says. "I just did what I thought was right."

BUT the least acclimated members also have the least influence. The Republicans now rising to subcommittee chairmanships, the new Cardinals, tend to be thoroughly House-broken. John Myers (Ind.), for example, was skipped over by Gingrich for chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee, despite his seniority, partly because of his bipartisan work securing pork as ranking member of the Energy and Water Development Subcommittee. Now he's chairman of the subcommittee.

John Porter (Ill.) heads the Labor, Health, and Human Services Subcommittee. In his 15 years of service there under Democrats, never once was there a roll-call vote. The subcommittee controls about 28 per cent of the discretionary domestic budget, making it a major battleground. Porter says he's ready for the onslaught, but when it comes to an $11.3-billion chunk of his bailiwick, the National Institutes of Health, he waxes positively poetic.

Mr. Lowry is NR*'s national political reporter.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Republicans ought to understand that here is an activity of government, the funding of biomedical research, much of which is done across the country, in every state of the union, in most every [congressional] district, that has spawned an industry, the biotech industry, in which the United States is the world leader," he says. "It is quintessentially good for the country."

Jim Lightfoot (Iowa) leads the $11-billion Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Subcommittee. His minor claim to fame is earmarking $2.4 million in 1993 for a parking garage in Burlington, Iowa (never authorized, it was never built). "The project was proposed to relieve a very difficult parking situation in downtown Burlington," Lightfoot explains. "It was a project proposed by the City of Burlington and its economic development group and one other group." How about his opposition to the $90-billion Penny–Kasich spending cuts in 1993? "Ag[riculture] was taking a fairly good hit," he says, "while other things weren't." Besides, there was "a little different mindset in that period of time." Lightfoot now vows fealty—with a hint of resignation—to the new, austere mindset: "I didn't come here to be popular, I guess."

Livingston has to bring these subcommittee chairmen along in a knee-buckling budget-cutting exercise. Appropriations handles the discretionary part of the budget, which at about $550 billion is dwarfed by entitlement spending but is presumed to be much easier to cut. Defense is off limits. That leaves roughly $260 billion in domestic discretionary spending from which Republicans have to squeeze some $25 billion for starters. First come cuts to pay for this year's supplemental bills, then (if the Senate doesn't balk) a package of rescissions from this year's budget to pay for tax cuts, then finally the monster cuts to move toward a balanced budget. The first step in the balancing process is a budget resolution from Kasich's Budget Committee. It will set the broad targets for spending that Livingston, in consultation with his chairmen, will divide into 13 spending ceilings, one for each subcommittee. The chairmen cannot get out from under their ceilings. But avoiding fractious disputes on the way to them—through coaxing and through pressure—is Livingston's delicate responsibility.

Can he pull it off? For some, his decision to keep most of the committee's professional staffers, despite their previous employment by Democrats, constitutes a troubling accommodation. But Livingston is adamant. "I am absolutely convinced with every day that passes that I made the absolute right decision," he says, his voice rising. "Because the complexities of what we are about, with $500-plus billion, trying to downsize and make intelligent choices without making stupid mistakes is just . . . a monumental task." With Republican staffers on the Hill working 15-hour days already, there's something to be said for preserving institutional memory. The problem is what it remembers. Recently one holdover staffer briefed new staff members on appropriations procedures and cited examples of logrolling from the profligate past that had some Republicans cringing. "The first thing we learn about the appropriations process is how to spend money," complains one.

More important than the question of staffing is Livingston himself. He can talk softly. With an easy laugh and low-key manner, he is probably the only one on the committee who can command the respect of both the old guard and the more aggressive newcomers. But can he carry a big stick? Gingrich has told him to use every power available to him to keep Appropriations on board. Livingston quietly insists that he'll do whatever is necessary, that he's a "reliable, aggressive member when I get a job in front of me." And he has one other sword to hang over his committee's head. The leadership has protected Appropriations' traditional jurisdiction over budgetary specifics from encroachment by the hard-charging Kasich. But if Appropriations falters, the leadership will turn back to Kasich. So, hanging in the air at Appropriations, along with the "Cajun scalpel" Livingston has brandished for dramatic effect, should be the injunction, "Do it, or else." □

Rain of Terror

DAVID BAR-ILLAN

JERUSALEM

IN THE thirty months since he became Israel's prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin has signed an agreement with the Palestinians, concluded a peace treaty with Jordan, and won the Nobel Peace Prize. He is the first Israeli prime minister to openly visit Arab countries not formally at peace with Israel and the first to be welcome in countries such as Japan and China, previously cool if not openly hostile to Israel. During his tenure, relations between Israel and its main ally, the United States, have been better than ever. Israel's economy, too, has generally done well.

Yet his governing coalition has become so contentious and confused that some observers doubt it will live out its tenure. And in polls conducted in the past three months he has been trailing Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu, an untried, relative newcomer to Israeli politics, by a growing margin. Considered the Left's greatest electoral asset only a few months ago, Rabin, 72, has become a liability. Many observers believe he will not run in 1996.

Mr. Bar-Illan is executive editor of the Jerusalem Post.

Foreigners find this steep decline in popularity puzzling. But to Israelis it is more a reversion to old trends than a change. Few outside Israel realize that the coalition Rabin leads, the most leftist and dovish in Israel's history, is a minority government. It was the hawkish parties that won the popular vote in the 1992 elections. As Foreign Minister Shimon Peres recently admitted, only the splintering of the Right, and a new election regulation which raised the parties' eligibility threshold, made Labor's victory possible. "It was all a fluke, an accident," he said.

Yet a year after it assumed power, the government assumed, with good reason, that a large majority would cheer its agreement with the PLO, which would relinquish Judea, Samaria, and Gaza for peace with the Palestinians. The reason for this optimism was plain: Israelis were tired. They were tired of seeing their sons chasing stone throwers in the streets of Gaza; tired of hearing of schoolchildren stabbed to death by Arab laborers; tired of American pressure, world cen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FEDERALIST SOCIETY

presents

ORIGINALISM, DEMOCRACY AND THE CONSTITUTION

Fourteenth Annual National Symposium
on Law and Public Policy
Northwestern University School of Law
Chicago, Illinois
April 7–9, 1995

Featuring:

HON. EDWIN MEESE III
75th U.S. Attorney General
The Heritage Foundation

HON. DAVID McINTOSH
U.S. House of Representatives (IN)
Federalist Society Co-Founder

HON. FRANK EASTERBROOK
U.S. Court of Appeals, 7th Circuit

PROF. AKHIL AMAR
Yale Law School

PROF. RAOUL BERGER
Professor Emeritus, Harvard University

PROF. RICHARD EPSTEIN
University of Chicago Law School

PROF. LINO GRAGLIA
University of Texas Law School

PROF. MICHAEL McCONNELL
University of Chicago Law School

and many others

Panels at the conference will focus on a variety of important questions:

- Why should the original meaning of the Constitution still have authority for us today?
- Is "originalism" a legal theory, a political theory, or both?
- Are "originalism" and "judicial restraint" different concepts?
- Are constitutional text and history too uncertain for "originalism" to be a meaningful theory of interpretation?
- Must "originalism" be discarded to adapt the Constitution to modern times?

For information, contact:
Mr. Ken Dortzbach, The Federalist Society, Northwestern University School of Law, 357 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL 60611 (312) 503-2907

-OR-

The Federalist Society, 1700 K Street, NW, Suite 901, Washington, D.C. 20006 (202) 822-8138

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sure, and hostile media coverage; and tired of reserve army duty, which robs adult males of a month every year. After a hundred years of Zionism, ideology seemed to yield to the thirst for normality. The idea of trading land, even land of enormous historic, cultural, and emotional significance, for "true peace" became acceptable to a majority. Even the possibility of uprooting 140,000 Israelis living on this land seemed palatable.

To sell the idea, the government painted a rosy picture of Israel's adversaries: The PLO is no longer dedicated to Israel's destruction. Its leader, Yasir Arafat, is committed, in writing, to abolishing the clauses in the Palestinian charter that call for Israel's destruction. Arafat is also obligated to denounce and renounce violence: he will not only abandon the "armed struggle" but combat and punish any Palestinian faction that resorts to terrorism. "Why should we chase the terrorists?" asked Peres. "Let the PLO do it." Echoing this sentiment, Rabin gleefully predicted that the PLO, unfettered by courts and human-rights organizations, would do a much better job of it than Israel ever could.

To assure even the most skeptical, the government repeatedly asserted that the process was easily reversible. Only the festering Gaza strip and the small town of Jericho would be evacuated at first, and they would serve as an experiment. If the Palestinians seriously violated the agreement, or if Gaza and Jericho became a haven and a base for terrorism, or if Arafat failed to show that he could rule, the status quo ante would be restored overnight.

But soon it became clear that the PLO had no intention of honoring the agreement and that Israel would not discard it no matter how flagrant the Palestinian violations were. As former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith once observed, democracies tend to view the signing of agreements as an end in itself, and they refuse to let violations get in the way of their achievement. Having learned to exploit this proclivity, dictatorships sign agreements more readily than ever and ignore them with impunity.

The PLO's violations began on day one. Arafat's speech following the famous White House handshake, in which he was supposed to condemn terrorism, contained not even a reference to violence. Worse, on the very same day he addressed "the Palestinian people" on Jordanian television, imploring them to understand that the agreement was the realization of the Palestine National Council decision of 1974—a reference to the PLO Plan of Phases for the destruction of Israel formulated in Cairo twenty years ago.

With remarkable consistency, Arafat—lionized everywhere as a statesman and peacemaker—kept talking peace to the world community while urging the faithful to join a *jihad*, a violent crusade, for the liberation of all of Palestine and particularly Jerusalem. For Palestinians these pronouncements could only mean outright encouragement of "the armed struggle." Indeed, since the agreement was signed 17 months ago, terrorist activities against Israelis have increased in both frequency and savagery. More than 120 Israelis have been killed by Palestinian terrorists and more than 600 wounded. This is more than double the number of fatalities in any period of similar length since the establishment of the state. If victims of anti-Jewish terrorism abroad are included, the number exceeds 250. (Nor do these numbers reflect the extent of the scourge. At least another half-dozen suicide bombings and scores of terrorist attacks were aborted only because of their perpetrators' incompetence.)

IT IS this explosion of terrorism which caused the public to lose confidence in the Oslo agreement and the man who signed it. All the other failures of the Rabin government, including his embarrassing zigzag on the stock-market tax law, would have been easily forgiven had the agreement with the PLO worked.

The government tried to explain away the terror attacks. The killers, it said, were all members of the militant movements Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. They were rejectionists, "enemies of peace," trying to kill the process. Suspending the talks in response to their attacks would "only hand them a victory."

But it did not take the public long to realize the spuriousness of these explanations. Obviously, the terrorists, for all their talk against the agreement with the hated Israelis, were just as eager to see Israel withdraw from the territories as any Palestinian. They would do nothing to impede this withdrawal. If they really meant to sabotage the agreement, they would have attacked Arafat's forces, not exclusively Israeli targets.

Moreover, some of the terrorists were members of Fatah, Arafat's PLO faction, or members of his official police force, not Islamic fanatics. It was clear, too, that Arafat—who repeatedly demands the release of the Hamas spiritual leader Sheikh Yassin, addresses the organization's leaders as brothers, allows armed Islamic and radical militias to parade freely in Gaza and Jericho, and declares "we are all suicide martyrs"—is no enemy of the terrorists. He is simply pursuing a tactic favored by dictatorial regimes: shooting while negotiating. That there are Islamic militants willing to serve as the shooters gives him deniability.

The advantage of this tactic is clear. Like all democracies, Israel is susceptible to internal pressures to make peace as quickly as possible to avoid casualties. Indeed, there are those in Israel, including Oslo architects Peres and his deputy Yossi Beilin, who believe that the implementation of the agreement should be accelerated, that terrorism will cease once the Palestinians get all the territories and establish a state with part of Jerusalem as its capital.

But a growing majority feels Rabin bet on the wrong horse in Oslo, and that the accord is bankrupt. As Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer said in Washington recently, "With personal safety down to zero, there is no majority for the Oslo accord." President Ezer Weizman, a super-dove who initially supported the agreement wholeheartedly, called for a temporary suspension of talks following the Beit Lid massacre on January 22 and again after the February 6 killing in Gaza. Rabin himself has made it clear that while he will continue talking, he will not implement the next phase of the agreement—the army's evacuation of Arab population centers in Judea and Samaria—until Arafat proves he can curb terrorism. Rabin cannot afford more Gazas, this time on the outskirts of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

Rabin's political fate is, then, in Arafat's hands. If Arafat declares an all-out war on terrorism, as the Oslo agreement requires, and collaborates with Israel in seriously combating it, he can still save the Labor government. But if he does, he will endanger not only his position as the leader of the Palestinians, but his life. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Enjoy all your favorite columns – every week!

Pat Buchanan

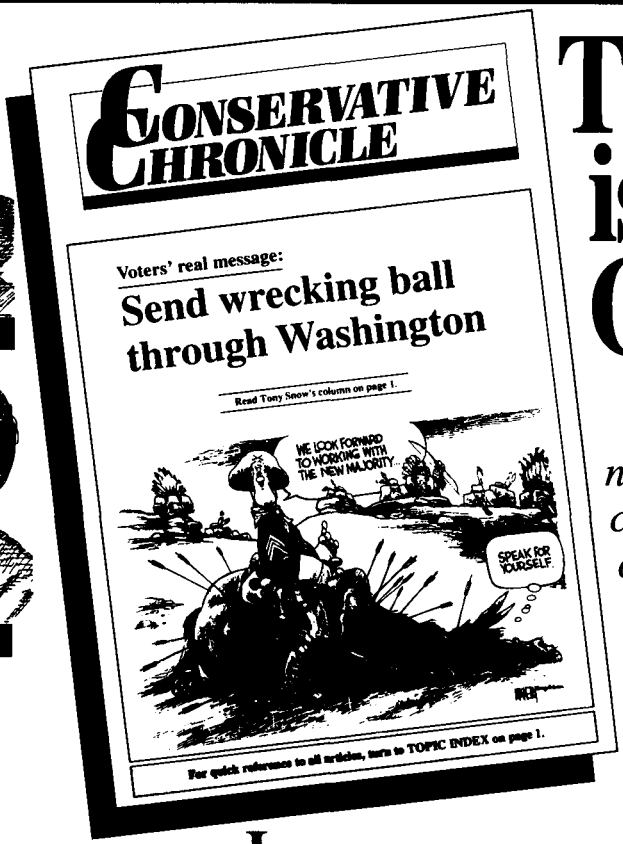
William F. Buckley

George Will

William Safire

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Joseph Sobran


CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE
Voters' real message:
Send wrecking ball through Washington
Read Tony Snow's column on page 1.
WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH THE NEW MAJORITY
SPEAK FOR YOURSELF
For quick reference to all articles, turn to TOPIC INDEX on page 1.

There is Only One Source

A Great Gift Idea!

Where you can get all of the nation's top conservative columnists and your favorite cartoonists every week.

You would need to buy** over a dozen metro newspapers to enjoy all the wit and commentary you could find in one **Conservative Chronicle.

If you want to know what all the nation's finest conservative minds are saying about the Republican *Contract with America,* the 104th Congress, school prayer, defense spending, Russia, Whitewater and a host of other issues . . . now there is one convenient source—the ***Conservative Chronicle.***

Every week, read the distinguished columnists shown plus Tony Snow, Walter Williams, Paul Harvey, Linda Bowles, William Rusher, Mona Charen, Ken Hamblin, Edward Grimsley, Robert Novak, James Kilpatrick and Cal Thomas—a total of 37 nationally respected columnists and 27 cartoonists with conservative appeal.

And it's all in an easy-to-handle format. You'll also enjoy the wit and humor of the ***Conservative Chronicle's*** cartoonists, including Jeff MacNelly, Dick Wright, Mike Ramirez, Bill DeOre, Jerry Barnett and Henry Payne.

All 52 issues are yours for only $42.00! Cancel at any time—for any reason—and get a full refund on unmailed copies. Get the complete story. Don't miss this great line-up of conservative thinkers. **Call toll-free 1-800-888-3039** or mail or FAX coupon to 515-456-2587 to take advantage of this exceptional value!

Conservative Chronicle
Box 11297, Des Moines, IA 50340-1297

Yes, *I accept your subscription offer of 1 year (52 issues) for $42.00 (add $30.00 for foreign postage). I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.*

Payment: ❒ Check ❒ Bill me ❒ VISA ❒ MC

Card # _____ Exp. date _____

Name _____

Address _____ Apt. #_____

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

HNRC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When Numbers Get Serious

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE new Clinton budget, with $200-billion deficits as far as the eye can see, abandons all pretense of budget restraint. Worse, the latest estimates from the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) show an average $238-billion deficit during the next five years and an average $355-billion deficit for the five years after that. The Newt Republicans, of course, are determined to change this, balancing the budget by 2002.

That, at least, *was* the plan. Two new reports may put the zero-deficit target out of reach and jeopardize pro-growth tax cuts. One, released by the Joint Tax Committee (JTC), now estimates that the tax cuts called for in the GOP's Contract with America will cost $704 billion in lost revenue by 2002. The second, newly minted by the CBO, shows a paltry 2.2 per cent average real economic growth rate during the next five years. Together, the two reports will raise the seven-year deficit totals by nearly $300 billion.

These two scorekeeping bodies, the JTC and the CBO, have long been centers of Keynesian thinking and an obstacle to supply-side economics. Neither agency believes that changes in tax policy have more than a minuscule effect on economic behavior. So they score all tax increases as revenue raisers and all tax cuts as revenue losers.

The most famous blunder to result from this static analysis came after the 1986 hike in the capital-gains tax from 20 per cent to 28 per cent. The CBO expected asset-sale realizations to soar during the next five years, reaching about $250 billion by 1992. Instead, realizations *dropped* to just over $100 billion. The JTC's expected-revenue estimate was off by about $60 billion. Another embarrassing error came after 1990's tax increase, when the CBO and the JTC overestimated revenues by $154 billion over three years. Only a year after the 1993 tax increase, the CBO has already admitted that 1994–95 revenues are falling short, causing it to raise its deficit estimates.

Republicans had high hopes of changing the models used by the CBO and the JTC after the November 8 election. There was talk of revamped staffs, new directors, different forecasting techniques. After all, GOP policies to cut the capital-gains tax, liberalize business depreciation, reduce family tax burdens, and deregulate business should raise productivity, enhance capital formation, and induce greater labor supplies. The upshot should be higher output and faster growth.

But the CBO will have none of it. It continues to hike its deficit estimates and cut its economic-growth baseline, despite the fact that its director, Robert Reischauer, argued strongly for the 1990 and 1993 tax deals, promising lower deficits, less federal borrowing, and better economic performance. In effect, after Congress did what the CBO recommended, the CBO turned around and said, "Whoops, maybe it wasn't such a good idea after all."

Economic forecasting is crucial to the budget exercise. An increase of one percentage point in the real GDP growth rate, for example, produces about $125 billion in deficit reduction over five years through higher revenues and lower spending. But there seems to be no rhyme or reason to the CBO's five-year forecasts. In 1979, the CBO projected real annual GDP growth of 4 per cent for the next five years. In 1983, despite tax cuts, lower inflation, and reduced interest rates, the CBO projected yearly growth of 3.9 per cent. After more tax cuts in the mid Eighties, the CBO's economic baseline dropped to 3.3 per cent. Following the tax increase of 1990, the CBO cut its growth baseline to 2.8 per cent, which might have made sense had Reischauer not supported the deal. Finally, after the 1993 tax hike, the growth baseline dropped to 2.2 per cent. Looking at the whole period, it appears that the U.S. economy's long-run potential to grow is slowed by tax cuts *and* by tax increases.

Pressed to explain, the CBO geniuses prattle on about how the unemployment rate is too low, or capacity utilization is too high, or savings are too low, or deficits are too high, or the Fed is too loose, or the Fed is too tight, or productivity is too low, or too many people are working, or not enough people are working, or whatever pops into their minds on a given day. There is no analytical consistency.

We can only hope that the new CBO director, June O'Neill, is up to the task of transforming the agency. A labor economist with budget experience (she served briefly on the CBO staff), Mrs. O'Neill leans toward the supply side. She is not a radical, but she does plan to bring in new staff and create an advisory board. Why not celebrate the coming of the new CBO director with a new, more-realistic forecast?

Republicans on the Ways and Means Committee seem unperturbed by the latest revenue-loss estimate. If deficit projections rise by $200 billion or $300 billion, some say, the committee will just come up with more spending cuts. This seems like sheer bravado. Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich has already targeted $400 billion in savings for the next five years, rising to $600 billion over seven years. Another $200 billion is politically implausible.

Moreover, the GOP has all but given up on expanded IRAs and more-liberal business depreciation allowances. Speaker Gingrich still insists on a lower capital-gains tax and middle-class tax credits. But Senate Finance Chairman Robert Packwood is questioning even that. Promises are being broken because Republicans are not in control of the scoreboard. Policies matter, but so do numbers □

Mr. Kudlow is NR*'s economics editor.*

The Bohemian Lifestyle

TOM GROSS

PRAGUE

THE international press has dubbed us YAPs ("Young Americans in Prague"). The cheap cost of living, the many job opportunities, and the electric atmosphere have attracted tens of thousands of young Americans and other Westerners since the 1989 revolution. Relatively rich, Westerners in Prague can afford to live in the center of town, use the excellent public transport system, wander

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE

IS HEADING TO TEXAS TO SPONSOR ANOTHER EXCITING CONSERVATIVE SUMMIT. COME AND BE PART OF OUR THOUGHT-PROVOKING WEEKEND

MARCH 4 & 5, 1995
STOUFFER DALLAS HOTEL

JOIN 30 outstanding speakers covering the cutting-edge topics facing our Congress today.

NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE

INVITED SPEAKERS

Rick Brookhiser
Pete du Pont
William Kristol
Tom DeLay
Lawrence Kudlow
J.C. Watts
John Goodman
Lino Graglia
Peter Brimelow
John O'Sullivan
Joe Barton
Steve Bartlett
Morgan Reynolds
Merrill Matthews, Jr.
Judge Edith Jones
William Murchison
Richard Estrada
Wick Allison
Kate Walsh O'Beirne

and many others

REGISTRATION FORM

Conference fee includes entrance to all meetings and meals.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Daytime phone _____

☐ Earlybird registration fee: $175.00 (By 2/27/95)

☐ Registration fee: $200.00 (After 2/27/95)

☐ Student registration: $100.00

☐ Groups of 4 or more: $150.00 each

Please respond to:
Kelly L. Forsberg
Make checks payable to NRI
Sorry, no credit cards accepted

National Review Institute
P.O. Box 63, Murray Hill Station
New York, NY 10156
Phone: (212)679-7330
Fax: (212)213-9369

NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE

For Air/Hotel Reservations Call Omega World Travel 212/753-4900 or Stouffer Dallas Hotel at 214/631-2222. Limited space, so book early!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

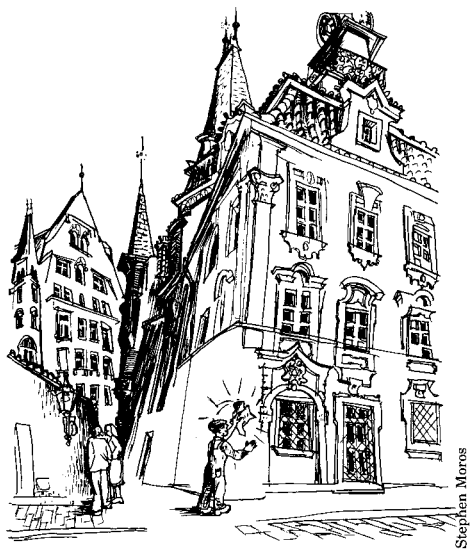
through the teeming streets. In Prague you don't see the beggars that have become so familiar in the doorways of cities both west and east of here. It is safe to walk around town at night. We have watched new buildings go up and old ones cleared of grime. We have soaked up Prague's revived café society, its art-nouveau splendor, jazz clubs, opera houses.

We have not had any difficulty finding at least one job, and many of us have two or three. The major Western companies have been happy to employ YAPs for above-average Czech wages, even if we lack Czech language skills, for we are honest, efficient, and diligent. There are still vast differences between American hard work and what sometimes seems like a Czech conspiracy to have a good time. In the summer in particular, more Czechs are interested in pursuing their lovers and mistresses or spending three- or four-day weekends in their small country houses than in going to work. In the early 1990s, where else could an inexperienced young American walk into the offices of the world's top advertising agencies or law firms and gain employment without showing a résumé?

Press coverage of the American community in Prague has generally been superficial and off the mark. YAPs have wrongly been portrayed as anti-Americans, alienated drop-outs, slackers. Most of those who have made Prague their home in the early 1990s are intelligent, talented, educated people who have seized a rare opportunity. This is a city where a 22-year-old from a Chicago suburb (Lisa Frankenberg, now 26) founded and publishes the *Prague Post*, having attracted an editor-in-chief (ex-*New York Times*) and editor (ex-*London Observer*) both twice her age. This is where John Bruce Shoemaker (now 31) can turn up from Montana and open a string of successful bars, clubs, and restaurants in some of the city's most historic and architecturally valuable buildings.

Other YAPs have worked in the offices of the president and mayor, advised the Ministry of Privatization, written op-ed pieces in leading Czech papers. This has *not* been, as a British magazine dubbed it, "slacker city." The YAPs have helped build up whole industries, such as advertising, and contributed significantly to the "Czech economic miracle." In the workplace Czechs are learning the American way, to be bold and take risks, to work hard and compete. YAPs have been at the forefront of badly needed work for the environment, both to protect the health of inhabitants and to preserve the many historic buildings that have been left in a sad state of dilapidation by Communist neglect.

Prague has given middle-class Westerners a rare chance to see firsthand the enormous differences between the free market and a centrally planned economy. The collapse of Communism has presented my generation with an opportunity to witness and be part of history. Those of us arriving in the early 1990s made a conscious decision to explore the new frontiers of the "Wild East." Most of us were motivated not by the urge to make a quick buck but by a desire to seize new experiences. By contrast, the YAPs who have arrived in the last year or so seem not really to understand where they are. This is partly because they have been attracted here by the misleading media coverage. "What's a gulag?" asked the new American female disk jockey on the English-language Radio Metropolis. Many of the recent arrivals don't appreciate the seriousness of what came before or the excitement of the changes that are now occurring.


Stephen Moros

They have forgotten the drabness and harshness of life before November 1989. There were no private shops or restaurants. A Western car or neon light was a rare sight. The Communist Party bosses in the castle had fresh milk flown in daily from Switzerland for their private use, while the shop windows were full of unwanted tin goods and ordinary people were lucky if they could find fruits and vegetables to buy. Prague was a beautiful city covered by a thick layer of dust.

Nowadays glitzy stores and state-of-the-art showrooms open every month. Job vacancies outnumber job seekers. Eighty per cent of the economy has been transferred to private hands. Until recently it was rare to see a Mercedes or BMW; now they're common. Last spring several expensive Japanese restaurants opened. A few summers ago my Czech friends were traveling by coach or hitchhiking to Venice and Paris. Last summer they flew to Israel, Tunisia, Greece.

The American influence on popular culture and lifestyle is clear. Czechs read Danielle Steel and Stephen King, shop at K-Mart, eat at Little Caesar's, watch *Baywatch* and *Beverly Hills 90210* on Eastern Europe's first independent national TV station. On the street, the all-powerful English language is on the march, beating back German.

But it may take many years for the influence of Communism to be fully eradicated. You can still find yourself paying more for traveling by slow train rather than a fast one, because you will sit on the train longer. Inefficiency, shoddy service, unrealistic expectations, and corruption are deeply rooted. People still look at you incredulously if you hurry to an appointment or walk on the escalator in the metro. A secretary will often stop work on the dot at 4 P.M., even if she is halfway through typing a sentence. The taxi meters are still rigged, and the city's phone system is almost surrealistic in its inefficiency.

We have learned to live with the rude waiters, bills added up wrongly, people not turning up for meetings, food that goes bad within hours of purchase, the paranoid landlords who come uninvited every day to verify that you have not stolen anything from their apartments and are not subletting rooms. The uncomfortable aspects are easily outweighed by the intoxicating atmosphere, the feeling of freshness and vitality. Before the city completes its journey into the modern age and loses some of its romance, this is a great place to live and a great time to be living here. □

Mr. Gross is special-projects editor of the Czech edition of Elle, *which he helped establish last year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM WALK

OPPONENTS of a balanced-budget amendment like to say that it clashes with the wisdom of the Framers. But the reason the Founding Fathers did not include a balanced-budget requirement in the Constitution is that they felt it would be superfluous. The idea that government budgets should be balanced, except during emergencies, was so widespread that anyone who suggested otherwise would have been considered a fool.

Indeed, the historical evidence indicates that the Federal Government operated under an implicit balanced-budget rule until the early 1930s. Trinity University economist William Breit observes: "The balanced-budget rule which served as part of the Constitution was, of course, not in the form of a written statement that every expenditure had to be balanced by a tax. But it nevertheless had constitutional status. For expenditures in excess of receipts were considered to be in violation of moral principles. The imperative of the balanced budget was an extra-legal rule or custom that grew up around the formal document. It existed outside the precise letter of the Constitution on all fours with the system of political parties, the presidential cabinet, the actual operation of the electoral college system, and the doctrine of judicial review."

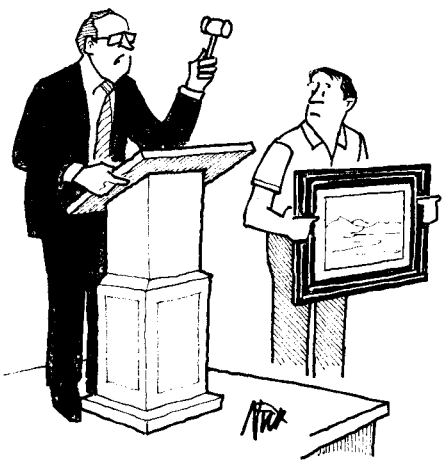
Largely as a consequence of this tradition, federal spending before 1933 was never more than 10 per cent of GNP, except during wartime. It was generally around 2 to 3 per cent. Since then, spending has grown almost continuously as a share of GNP; it is now above the highest level reached during the Civil War and close to the highest point during World War I.

Although the Federal Government has made no pretense of attempting to balance its budget since 1933, state governments have always adhered to a balanced-budget constraint. Every state except Vermont has a statutory or constitutional requirement to balance its budget. Local governments are also effectively required to balance their budgets.

Thus we can compare federal spending with state and local spending since 1933 to get some idea of the difference that a balanced-budget requirement makes. In 1933 total federal spending was $3.9 billion, and total state and local government spending was $7 billion, almost twice as high. Sixty years later, the situation was nearly reversed. Federal spending had risen to $1.5 trillion, while total state and local had risen to $865 billion.

There are many potential explanations for why federal spending has grown at a much faster rate than state and local government spending since 1933. But it's reasonable to conclude that the lack of a balanced-budget rule was a major factor. Had there been a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution, federal spending might be as low as $478 billion, less than a third of what it actually is.

■ Here is the "New Democrat" definition of fairness: it's fair to index the minimum wage for inflation but unfair to index capital-gains taxes. In other words, it's fair for the Federal Government to destroy jobs but unfair to create them.



"Anything you say will be taken down, and may be used against you."

The Clintonites, of course, reject the idea that a 20 per cent rise in the minimum wage to $5.25 an hour will increase joblessness. But history is fairly straightforward on this point. Hudson Institute economist Alan Reynolds reports that from 1980 to 1989, while the minimum wage remained at $3.35 an hour, the percentage of teens with jobs rose from 41 to 48 per cent. In 1990 the minimum wage was raised to $3.80, and youth employment fell to 43 per cent. In 1991 it was raised to $4.25, and the rate fell to 40 per cent. The decline was most severe for black teenagers. Their labor-force participation rate plummeted from 44 to 38 per cent from 1986 to 1991. All of these numbers are consistent with the generally accepted economic rule of thumb that every 10 per cent rise in the minimum wage reduces teen employment by 1 to 3 per cent.

Even the Congressional Budget Office, back when it was run by Democrats (come to think of it, it still is), agreed that a higher minimum wage raises unemployment. In 1988 the CBO told Congress that a minimum-wage increase from $3.35 to $5.05 "could cause the loss of approximately 250,000 to 500,000 jobs." It correctly predicted that job losses would be concentrated among "the groups in the labor force with low wage rates . . . especially teenagers." Even the *New York Times* editorialized in the 1980s that the "correct minimum wage rate is zero." In the 1990s, however, the *Times* editorialists have buckled under to political correctness. They now enthusiastically endorse Clinton's job destruction bill.

The good news is that the youths of the inner city have not been forgotten. The Clinton Administration's new budget includes gobs of funding for midnight-basketball leagues, self-esteem classes, government job-training centers, and make-work teen summer-job programs to combat the 40 per cent black unemployment rate in the inner cities. And there are still slots available in Clinton's national servitude program. It just goes to show you: there's a government solution to every government-created problem. —GEKKO

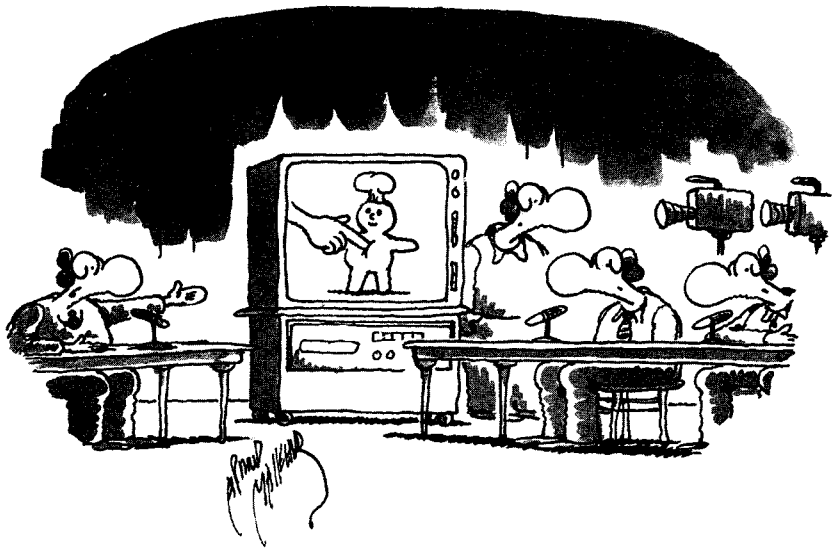
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help

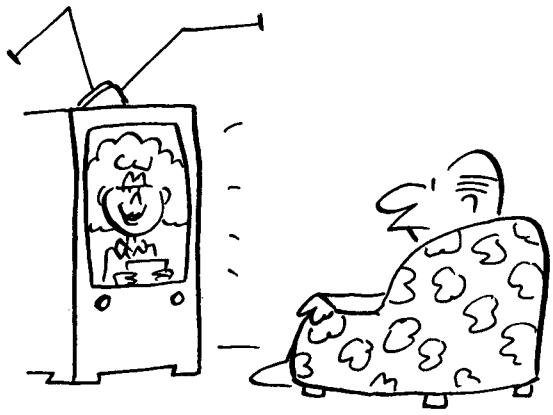
Spellbound In Byrdland

Like Merlin, last of an elite
Whose incantations could defeat
(With eye of frog and toe of newt)
The powerful and resolute,
The senator's command of rules
Arcane to all but Senate ghouls
Has put a hex on Mr. Dole,
Whose tongue hangs out as eyeballs roll.

W. H. VON DREELE



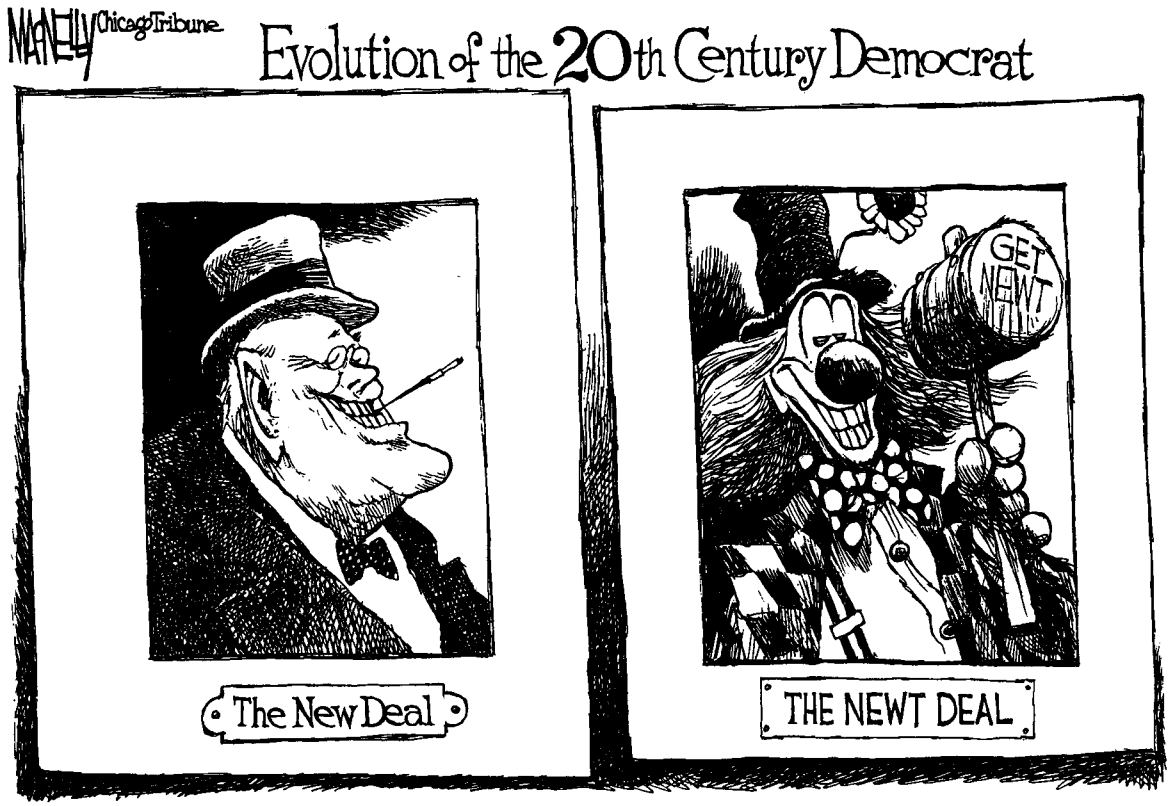
"Come on, senator. This is hardly a good example of excessive television violence."



"This is Cindy Larrabee, substituting for Alice Gombert, who turned out to be not quite blonde enough . . ."

"Let's see . . . tonight I work at the soup kitchen. Tomorrow night I'm combatting adult illiteracy. Perhaps I can work late a week from Thursday."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Illegitimacy and Welfare Dependence

ALL IN THE FAMILY

History indicates that welfare did not cause illegitimacy among African-Americans so much as disrupt family formation. But history also suggests that it's possible to reverse the damage.

WILLIAM TUCKER

AID to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) began in 1935 as a small stipend for "widows and orphans." It was anticipated that the program would be phased out in a few years as the survivor's benefits in the Social Security system became fully funded. Instead, AFDC has become the economic underpinning of a huge and growing American underclass.

This underclass has become self-perpetuating. Gone are the days when we could kid ourselves that welfare was a temporary expedient designed to lift people out of poverty. The habits that the underclass has acquired under AFDC assure that the next generation will be even more dependent and dysfunctional than the last.

In a recent visit to the subterranean world of single motherhood, Kay Hymowitz, a contributing editor for *The City Journal*, discovered "a culture—or subculture to be precise—with its own values, beliefs, sexual mores, and, to a certain extent, its own economy." Teenage boys who have already fathered several children express horror at the possibility of marriage, viewing it as a responsibility they wouldn't begin to consider "until I'm about 30." Fourteen-year-old girls who haven't yet become pregnant are accused by friends and neighbors of "thinking you're better than us." Older mothers actually take pleasure in seeing their sons get girls pregnant, and older fathers—well, who knows where they are? "Someone who waits until 30 or even 25 to have her first child seems a little weird, like the spinster aunt of yesteryear," Hymowitz reports. "All view marriage as irrelevant, vestigial."

It is important to realize how far this social disintegration goes beyond mere "laziness" and "refusal to work." What has been disrupted is the process of family formation. Not twenty years ago, anthropologists were fond of noting that there was no human society anywhere that did not have some form of marriage. Now we have one. Having separated childbearing from the economic responsibilities of raising children, we find that people are willing to breed as fast as humanly possible. Biology has replaced culture.

What is surprising is that anthropologists have had little to say about this development. Anthropology, after all, is founded on the principle that culture, more than biology, is the driving force in human evolution. What anthropologists have known for a long time—and what they seem reluctant to say now—is that marriage and family formation are institutions that differ widely across cultures. Among other things, those cross-cultural differences help explain why African-Americans have been especially susceptible to the negative incentives of welfare. At the same time, an understanding of how marriage patterns among American blacks have changed during the last few centuries suggests that the damage can be reversed.

A Universal Institution

BRONISLAW Malinowski, the first great anthropologist who lived among primitive peoples, learned their language, and made painstaking observations of their daily habits, came away with the belief that the human family was a universal institution. In his 1930 essay, "Parenthood: The Basis of Social Structure," he writes:

> Indeed, at first sight, the typical savage family, as it is found among the vast majority of native tribes . . . seems hardly to differ at all from its civilized counterpart. Mother, father, and children share the camp, the home, the food, and the life. . . . Attached to each other, sharing life and most of its interests, exchanging counsel and help, company and cheer, and reciprocating in economic

Mr. Tucker, a New York writer, is working on a book about the evolution of the family.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cooperation . . . the individual, undivided family stands out conspicuous, a definite social unit marked off from the rest of society by a clear line of division.

What struck Malinowski most forcefully was the universal role of the father in primitive societies:

> Expecting, perhaps, from a savage man a certain degree of ferocity towards wife and children, [an observer] might be astonished to find instead a kind and considerate husband and a tender father. At worst—I mean in tribes where, through custom and tradition, he plays the not always amiable role of a stern patriarch—he is still the provider of the family, the helpmate at home, and the guardian of the children up to a certain age. At his best and mildest, in a typical matrilineal community, he is a drudge within the household, the assistant nurse of his children, the weaker and fonder of the two parents, and later on the most faithful and often the most intimate friend of his sons and daughters.

Malinowski generalized these observations into what he called the "principle of legitimacy":

> Through all societies there runs the rule that the father is indispensable for the full sociological status of the child [and] that the group consisting of a woman and her offspring is sociologically incomplete and illegitimate. . . . The most important moral and legal rule [in primitive societies] is that no child should be brought into the world without a man—and one man at that—assuming the role of sociological father, that is guardian and protector, the male link between the child and the rest of the community.

Marriage was a way of ensuring that, whatever degree of sexual puritanism or license might characterize a society, the rearing of children was always done within the confines of the family. In "The Family: Past and Present" (1934), Malinowski writes:

> [Some societies] look at [sex] in a way [that] even Queen Victoria herself could not improve. . . . [In others,] free love making is allowed. . . . But one rule is always precise and often extremely stringent: there must be no pregnancy without marriage. . . . Every tribal tradition puts a premium on effective and successful parenthood.

Every society has set up a ritual to draw the line between the married and non-married states and trigger family formation. In societies that emphasize chastity and paternal claims, the ritual often involves a symbolic deflowering or lifting of the bride's veil. But even among societies where paternity is not emphasized and premarital sex is tolerated, there is always a symbolic act that both affirms the couple's commitment to each other and sets them apart from the rest of the society.

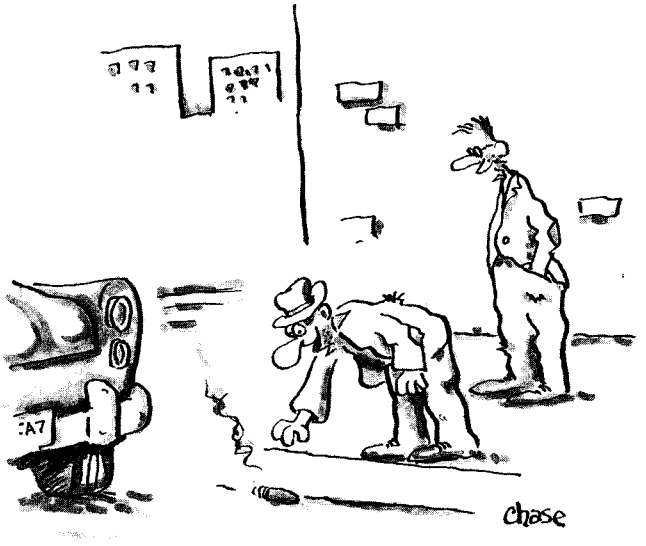
Among the Trobriand Islanders, where Malinowski did his first important field work, the role of paternity was unknown. Sexual intercourse was not connected with procreation, and women were believed to be impregnated "by the spirits." As a result, young people engaged in considerable sexual experimentation. Yet a couple was not allowed to *eat a meal together* until they were married. "To take a girl out to dinner without having previously married her—a thing permitted in Europe—would be to disgrace her in the eyes of a Trobriander," Malinowski writes in *The Sexual Life of Savages* (1929). "We object to an unmarried girl sharing a man's bed—the Trobriander would object just as strongly to her sharing a meal."

In *Facing Mount Kenya*, Jomo Kenyatta, an anthropologist who became Kenya's first president, describes family formation among the Kikuyu. Young people engage in extensive liaisons, and young men often stay at their girlfriends' huts overnight. Yet they are always careful to leave before dawn. If a boy accidentally oversleeps and the girl's family catches him, the couple must get married.

"Marriage is never a mere cohabitation," concluded Malinowski. "In no society are two people of different sex allowed to share life in common and produce children without having the approval of the community. . . . Marriage in all human societies is a license of parenthood rather than of sexual intercourse."

Forms of Families

STILL, the form of the family is not always the same from one society to another. The most obvious distinction is between polygamy and monogamy. Anthropologists like to say that 75 per cent of the



"One thing you can say about Republicans. . . cigars are back!"

world's societies sanction polygamy, but that is misleading. Most of these "societies" are small tribal cultures. About 75 per cent of the world's people live in societies that permit only monogamy.

Monogamy is most prevalent in the temperate zones, particularly the great axis that spans Europe and Asia. Oriental cultures—especially those in the Confucian tradition—are the most strongly monogamous in the world. European and American cultures have also been monog-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amous, although not to the same degree. Polygamy is still common in the early books of the Bible. (Esau has five sons by three wives, and Jacob has 12 sons by two wives and two concubines.) The heroes of *The Iliad* also have concubines, but by the time of *The Odyssey*—itself a great hymn to monogamy—a pattern of lifetime marriages had been established that persisted throughout Western history.

The great culture that stands between East and West, Islam, has tolerated polygamy, but in a limited fashion. The Koran permits a man five wives, but he must support them equally. In practice, this has limited polygamy to the very rich. In most Islamic countries, no more than 5 per cent of marriages are polygamous.

The real home of polygamy (or more precisely, "polygyny") has been the tropical cultures of Africa and the South Seas. In West Africa, polygamy is practiced at all levels of society, and in some countries as many as 30 per cent of all marriages are polygamous. A village elder may take two wives, whereas a prominent national leader may take more than a dozen. Chief M. K. O. Abiola of Nigeria's Yoruba tribe, a self-made billionaire and chairman of ITT Nigeria, has 26 wives. Polygyny is everywhere accompanied by the "bride price," a payment by the husband to the wife's family that, in effect, reflects the shortage of eligible brides. (The "dowry," a sum of money to make an eligible daughter more attractive, is strictly the product of monogamy.)

Births to Unwed American Mothers

Ethnic Origin	Percentage of Births
African	68.2
Puerto Rican	57.5
American Indian	55.3
Hawaiian Islander	45.0
Central/South American	43.1
Mexican	35.3
Cuban	19.5
European	18.0
Filipino	16.8
East Asian	13.5
Japanese	9.8
Chinese	5.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1993.

In 1976 Cambridge anthropologist Jack Goody published *Production and Reproduction*, an attempt to explain why monogamy prevails in the temperate zones while polygyny prevails in the tropics. Goody concluded that the decisive factor was male participation in agriculture: "Monogamy is most likely to be found with male farming and generally polygyny [is] the least likely (though limited polygyny [the Islamic variety] is common); the reverse occurs with female farming."

Surprisingly, it turns out that the earliest human societies, the hunter–gatherers, are almost as strongly monogamous as contemporary Western societies. The reason seems to be the division of labor—men as hunters, women as gatherers. Both sexes are productive, and their efforts combine to form an efficient economic unit. The drift into polygamy seems to occur when former hunter–gatherers adopt early agriculture—"horticulture" or "gardening," as the anthropologists call it. During the horticultural stage, farming is regarded as women's work. Men tend to be unproductive. They either cling to the lost privileges of a hunting society ("leaning on their spears," as one wag put it) or maintain political power through the tribal hierarchies. Women do the heavy gardening and are therefore more economically productive. This leads to an imbalance between the sexes, which encourages polygamy. Only when animals are harnessed to the plow do men again become the principal producers, and monogamy reasserts itself.

Female Farming and Polygyny

THE best way to understand why polygyny is associated with female farming is to look at contemporary West Africa. In the 1970 book *Women's Role in Economic Development*, Danish anthropologist Esther Boserup notes:

> Africa is the region of female farming *par excellence*. . . . In many African tribes, nearly all the tasks connected with food production continue to be left to women. . . . Men may [fell trees] or take part in the preparatory hoeing before the crops are planted, but even with such help the bulk of the work with the food crops is done by women.

In addition to farming, much of the trade in West Africa is handled by "market mammies." Studies in West Africa show that women make up 35 to 80 per cent of the traders—a much higher percentage than anywhere else in the world.

What do men do? Boserup writes:

> Before the European conquest of Africa, felling, hunting, and warfare were the chief occupations of men in the regions of female farming. Gradually, as felling and hunting became less important and inter-tribal warfare was prevented by European domination, little remained for the men to do. The Europeans, accustomed to the male farming systems of their home countries, looked with little sympathy on this unfamiliar distribution of the work load between the sexes and, understandably, the concept of the "lazy African man" was firmly fixed in the minds of settlers and administrators.

Men do have some sources of economic power. They bring in a little food from hunting or fishing and do heavy work. More important, they often control the land through village councils. To farm, a woman must acquire land through her husband, making marriage something of a landlord–tenant relationship. The husband usually builds a new hut where his wife will live and raise her children.

The outcome, paradoxically, is that polygamy becomes more attractive to both parties. A man who controls much land may marry several wives to work it for him. Since he is providing only about half their income, even

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a man of modest means can take several wives. In addition, women find polygyny helps lighten their work burden. Boserup writes:

> In many cases, the first wife takes the initiative in suggesting that a second wife, who can take over the most tiresome jobs in the household, should be procured. A woman marrying a man who already has a number of wives often joins the household more or less in the capacity of a servant for the first wife, unless it happens to be a love match. . . . Many women are said to prefer Moslems because a Moslem has a religious duty to support his wife.

How do African men get away with it? Essentially, they don't. Although an African husband can expect to have his wife or wives supporting themselves and working for him, he has very little claim to his children. As Goody notes, female farming and polygyny are nearly always coupled with "matrilineal descent," meaning that heritage is traced only through the mother's line. Often, children bear their mother's name.

The result is that marriages are relatively transient and divorce is common. As sociologist Wilson J. Goode writes in *World Revolution and Family Patterns* (1963) (the "revolution" is the Westernization of underdeveloped countries):

> What is crucial in African divorce is that in matrilineal systems the husband obtains certain domestic and sexual services from the wife, but her other loyalties and her offspring always belong to her lineage [meaning her natal family]. If there is a divorce, the lineage will care for her and her children. She is not "absorbed" into her husband's lineage. In such systems, divorce is common.

Studies confirm this pattern all over tribal Africa, often called the "matrilineal belt." Goode reports:

> In Stanleyville [the Congo], well over half of those who had been married had also been divorced. According to one calculation, Hausa women [in Nigeria] average about three marriages between puberty and menopause. . . . Eight out of ten persons over 40 years of age in a Yao village [Nyasaland] were found to have been divorced. . . . In the Voltaic group of the Mossi, [men who have migrated to neighboring Ghana] may establish households with the Ashanti women, but avoid marriage, because . . . the Ashanti matrilineal descent pattern [would] not [let them] take their own children back with them.

In patrilineal or "dual descent" societies, by contrast, marriages are stable. Illegitimacy is also regarded differently. In monogamous societies, with their emphasis on paternal claims, illegitimacy is a scandal that may disqualify a woman from ever gaining a husband. In matrilineal societies, illegitimacy is not such a big deal, since children belong to the mother's line anyway. [Early illegitimacy can even have a positive aspect, since it proves fertility.]

In general, China and the Orient fall at the patrilineal extreme, while African and South Seas cultures are at the matrilineal extreme. Western European cultures tend toward the patrilineal, although they are not as extreme as Oriental cultures. American Indian cultures have strong matrilineal traditions. As different ethnic groups have immigrated to America, they have brought their marital customs with them. Despite a certain amount of assimilation to Western standards, the underlying cultural dynamics play an important role. This becomes apparent when we consider the most recent figures for illegitimacy among various ethnic groups in the United States. (See Table.)

Knowing all this, it is easy enough to construct a scenario explaining why African-Americans have become so permanently dependent upon welfare. African marriages are unstable. Women have a great deal of economic independence, and men have weak paternal claims. Black slaves brought these traditions with them. Under such conditions, it has been easy enough for African-American women to abandon marriage and depend on the subsidies of the welfare system for economic support instead.

Although probably true in its general outline, this explanation fails to take account of the three-hundred-year history that preceded the welfare system—a period in which African-Americans made an enormous adjustment to Western standards and were leading lives that were not qualitatively different from the white, middle-class norm. Numerous studies have shown that, before 1925, the vast majority of blacks were living in two-parent households. This middle period, before welfare took hold, offers hope that the cultural damage since inflicted by government policies can be swiftly undone.

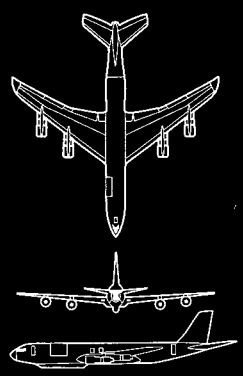
Stable Families under Slavery

THE classic account of this period is historian Herbert Gutman's massive book, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom: 1750–1925.* Published in 1973, it is still the definitive work of scholarship in the field. Examining plantation records, Gutman finds that fully 80 per cent of black children were living in intact mother–father families *during slavery*. He shows that blacks had their own marriage ceremonies ("jumping the broomstick") and that their rules against cross-cousin marriages differed sharply from the permissive attitudes of white Southerners. Gutman's point is twofold: 1) black families remained largely intact through slavery and beyond, and 2) their marital customs were not simply copied from whites but represented a continuation of African traditions.

Gutman's work stands as a huge barrier to anyone offering simple solutions to the problem of contemporary welfare dependency. (Nicholas Lemann, for example, tries to explain today's urban family dysfunction by arguing that the black family had already disintegrated in the rural South—an argument that is flatly contradicted by Gutman's research.) Gutman's book and all other accounts of the period clearly show that black men had adopted farming and become the heads of monogamous households.

But there are two areas that Gutman does not ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



* Surveillance

Precision

Strike

The ability to monitor an entire theater of operations and share threat and target information in real time. Example: the Joint STARS surveillance aircraft. When integrated with the ability to strike with stealth and precision, these capabilities and the core technologies they represent allow new levels of coordination in joint military operations. Northrop Grumman has expertise in each of these areas. And even more important: the knowledge and skills to integrate them. Northrop Grumman. Systems integration, military aircraft, defense electronics, precision weapons, commercial and military aerostructures. The right technologies. Right now.

NORTHROP GRUMMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

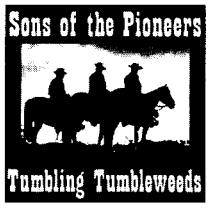
50 Biggest Hits By The Biggest Stars Of The 50's

All original recordings by The McGuire Sisters... Patti Page... Nat "King" Cole... Jo Stafford... Johnny Mathis... Guy Mitchell... Rosemary Clooney... Eddie Fisher... Teresa Brewer... Tony Bennett... The Four Aces... and so many more!

What wonderful tunes and magical memories come flooding back from those wonderful years. Let's turn back the clock to those happy days when we all liked Ike and loved Lucy and the music was pure fun.

Music, Music, Music Teresa Brewer • **You Belong To Me** Jo Stafford • **Love Is A Many Splendored Thing** The Four Aces • **Slowpoke** Pee Wee King • **Sincerely** The McGuire Sisters • **Heartaches By The Number** Guy Mitchell • **Tennessee Waltz** Patti Page • **That's Amore** Dean Martin • **Blue Tango** Leroy Anderson • **Because Of You** Tony Bennett • **Be My Love** Mario Lanza • **I'm Walking Behind You** Eddie Fisher • **Que Sera Sera** Doris Day • **Sh-Boom** The Crew Cuts • **The Naughty Lady Of Shady Lane** The Ames Brothers • **Mona Lisa** Nat King Cole • **Catch A Falling Star** Perry Como • **Cherry Pink And Apple Blossom White** Perez Prado • **He'll Have To Go** Jim Reeves • **Oh Lonesome Me** Don Gibson • **Oh My Pa-Pa** Eddie Fisher • **Round And Round** Perry Como • **The Wayward Wind** Gogi Grant • **Sixteen Tons** Tennessee Ernie Ford • **The Three Bells** The Browns • **Autumn Leaves** Roger Williams • **April Love** Pat Boone • **Tammy** Debbie Reynolds • **Chantanoogie Shoe Shine Boy** Red Foley • **Sugartime** The McGuire Sisters • **Volare** Domenico Modugno • **This Ole House** Rosemary Clooney • **Patricia** Perez Prado • **My Prayer** The Platters • **Don't Be Cruel** Elvis Presley • **The Rock And Roll Waltz** Kay Starr • **You, You, You** The Ames Brothers • **Cattle Call** Eddy Arnold • **Mack The Knife** Bobby Darin • **The Thing** Phil Harris • **Mister Sandman** Chordettes • **Hot Diggity** Perry Como • **Purple People Eater** Sheb Wooley • **Moonglow And Theme From Picnic** Morris Stoloff • **Hearts Of Stone** Fontane Sisters • **Rag Mop** Ames Brothers • **Chances Are** Johnny Mathis • **Love Me Tender** Elvis Presley • **Little Things Mean A Lot** Kitty Kallen • **Goodnight Irene** Gordon Jenkins with The Weavers

UNFORGETTABLE FIFTIES
#124511 3 Cassettes $19.98
#124529 2 Compact Discs $24.98



Sons Of The Pioneers

The Sons Of The Pioneers and their famous partner, Roy Rogers, rode the range and sang 'round the campfire in over 75 movies, singing the great western songs loved by all. In this double-length album you will hear all those legendary hits performed in the authentic style that grew out of the Old West.

Tumbling Tumbleweeds • Cool Water • Red River Valley • The Last Roundup • San Antonio Rose • Whoopie-Ti-Yi-Yo • Riders In The Sky • Twilight On The Trail • Home On The Range • Room Full Of Roses • Ragtime Cowboy Joe • Along The Navajo Trail • Wagon Wheels • Take Me Back To My Boots And Saddle • Empty Saddles • The Shifting Whispering Sands • O Bury Me Not On The Lone Prairie • Don't Fence Me In

SONS OF THE PIONEERS
#120717 Cassette $9.98
#120725 Compact Disc $14.98

The Right Music...

Your Favorite Music and Entertainment on Cassettes and Compact Discs!

His Fabulous Beat Still Goes On!

Ray Conniff

★ 40 Wonderful Hits!
★ A Never Before Collection!

Who can ever forget the super memories that Ray Conniff brought to the 1950's, 60's and 70's! His orchestra and chorus were on every radio station, in every record store. His concerts were sold out coast to coast. His exciting renditions of **S'Wonderful... Somewhere My Love... Red Roses For A Blue Lady... Somebody Loves Me... Happiness Is... That Old Black Magic...** and so many more fabulous and exciting hits will live in our memories forever.

Somewhere My Love • It's Been A Long, Long Time • Moonlight And Roses • It Had To Be You • 'S Wonderful • Young At Heart • Sometimes I'm Happy • You'll Never Know • Red Roses For A Blue Lady • Lovely To Look At • I'm In The Mood For Love • The Very Thought Of You • As Time Goes By • I'll Be Seeing You • The Way You Look Tonight • They Can't Take That Away From Me • Happiness Is • Dancing In The Dark • Love Walked In • Where Do I Begin (Theme From "Love Story") • I Get A Kick Out Of You • Smoke Gets In Your Eyes • Say It Isn't So • Days Of Wine And Roses • A Time For Us (Theme From "Romeo & Juliet") • That Old Black Magic • Easy To Love • I've Got You Under My Skin • I Only Have Eyes For You • The Way We Were • Someone To Watch Over Me • I Don't Want To Set The World On Fire • Young And Foolish • Speak Softly Love (Theme From "The Godfather") • Remember • You Do Something To Me • These Foolish Things • Love Letters In The Sand • Somebody Loves Me • I'll See You In My Dreams

RAY CONNIFF
#135517 2 Cassettes $19.95
#135525 2 Compact Discs $24.95

The Helen O'Connell Treasury

Let her fabulous voice take you back to the sweet sounds of the Swing Years!

Every service man in the Armed Forces was helplessly in love with her... she was the perfect image of "the girl back home." And could she ever sing! Jimmy Dorsey once said that the best thing that ever happened to him was Helen O'Connell.

Green Eyes • Amapola • All Of Me • Embraceable You • Tangerine • When The Sun Comes Out • Six Lessons From Madame LaZonga • Blue (And Broken Hearted) • Arthur Murray Taught Me Dancing In A Hurry • You Made Me Love You • Little Curly Hair In A High Chair • I Got It Bad And That Ain't Good • Brazil • Yours • I Said No! • In The Hush Of The Night • One Sweet Letter From You • Jim • Time Was • Wonder When My Baby's Coming Home • You've Got Me This Way • I Threw A Kiss In The Ocean

HELEN O'CONNELL
#133918 2 Cassettes $12.98
#133926 Compact Disc $16.98

OUR GUARANTEE:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the Right People

From National Review's Own Music Service

Showtime In Branson, MO

54 Toe-Tappin' Hits!
31 Top Stars!

Today, out in Branson, Missouri, a host of world-famous musical stars have built their very own theatres — thirty theatres so far — where you can go to hear them put on their wonderful shows.

Blue Skies Willie Nelson • **Coal Miner's Daughter** Loretta Lynn • **Everything Is Beautiful** Ray Stevens • **One Day At A Time** Cristy Lane • **The Hawaiian Wedding Song** Andy Williams • **Tumbling Tumbleweeds** Sons Of The Pioneers • **Coca Cola Cowboy** Mel Tillis • **You Don't Know Me** Mickey Gilley • **Kiss An Angel Good Morning** Charley Pride • **Spirit Of America** Boxcar Willie • **Misty** Ray Stevens • **The Tips Of My Fingers** Roy Clark • **Spiders And Snakes** Jim Stafford • **Train Medley: Fireball Mail, Train Of Love, Hand Me Down My Walkin' Cane, Wreck Of The Old 97, Orange Blossom Special, Wabash Cannonball, Night Train To Memphis** Boxcar Willie • **Hello Darlin'** Conway Twitty • **Country Boy** Ricky Skaggs • **Americana** Moe Bandy • **Danny Boy** Andy Williams • **Never Ending Song Of Love** The Osmonds • **Are The Good Times Really Over (I Wish A Buck Was Still Silver)** Merle Haggard • **Gentle On My Mind** Glen Campbell • **Bob Wills/Hank Williams Medley: Faded Love, Cold Cold Heart, Maiden's Prayer, I Can't Help It, San Antonio Rose** Shoji Tabuchi • **Georgia On My Mind** Willie Nelson • **Everlasting Love** Louise Mandrell • **Good Hearted Women** Waylon Jennings • **Medley: The Way We Were, Memory from "Cats," Through The Eyes Of Love** Shoji Tabuchi • **For The Good Times** Ray Price • **You Ain't Woman Enough To Take My Man** Loretta Lynn • **Medley: Tennessee Waltz, (I'd Be) A Legend In My Time, There Goes My Everything** Danny Davis • **Red Roses For A Blue Lady** Wayne Newton • **All The Gold In California** Larry Gatlin and The Gatlin Brothers • **Statue Of A Fool** The Presleys • **Bouquet Of Roses** Mickey Gilley • **I Can't Stop Loving You** Dennis Mabe of The Baldknobbers • **Somewhere My Love** Jim Nabors • **Yakety Sax** Boots Randolph • **Yesterday When I Was Young** Roy Clark • **Memory Maker** Mel Tillis • **Release Me** Cristy Lane • **Flowers On The Wall** The Statler Brothers

BRANSON GOLD
#130211 3 Cassettes $19.95
#130229 3 Compact Discs $24.95

If for any reason you are not 100% satisfied with your purchase, you may return it within 15 days for a complete refund. So order with confidence!

Instrumental Gold

There's something magical about a melody. Even without words, certain music seems to touch the heart. Rekindle an emotion. Bring back the tender memories of the best times of our lives. Never before have these easy-listening, instrumental greats been gathered into a golden treasury like this.

40 Original Hits! All The Original Artists!

Theme From "A Summer Place" Percy Faith • **The Poor People Of Paris** Les Baxter • **Love Is Blue** Paul Mauriat • **Autumn Leaves** Roger Williams • **Lisbon Antiqua** Nelson Riddle • **Moonglow And Theme From "Picnic"** Morris Stoloff • **Wonderland By Night** Bert Kaempfert • **Stranger On The Shore** Mr. Acker Bilk • **Chariots Of Fire** Vangelis • **Last Date** Floyd Cramer • **Canadian Sunset** Hugo Winterhalter, Eddie Heywood • **Music Box Dancer** Frank Mills • **Sail Along Silvery Moon** Billy Vaughn • **Maria Elena** Los Indios Tabajaras • **Only You** Frank Pourcel • **Blue Tango** Leroy Anderson • **Holiday For Strings** David Rose • **The Hot Canary** Florian Zabach • **So Rare** Jimmy Dorsey • **Third Man Theme** Antor. Karas • **Ebb Tide** Frank Chacksfield • **Cherry Pink And Apple Blossom White** Perez Prado • **Unchained Melody** Les Baxter • **Ruby** Richard Hayman • **Never On Sunday** Don Costa • **Moon River** Henry Mancini • **Somewhere My Love** Ray Coniff • **Shangri-La** Robert Maxwell • **Yellow Bird** Arthur Lyman • **Quiet Village** Martin Denny • **A Walk In The Black Forest** Horst Jankowski • **Song From"Moulin Rouge"** Percy Faith • **The Entertainer** Marvin Hamlisch • **The Stripper** David Rose & lots more!

INSTRUMENTAL GOLD
#127217 3 Cassettes $19.95
#127225 2 Compact Discs $24.95

Vaughn Monroe

"His Golden Voice"

The golden voice of Vaughn Monroe on a great double-length album collection! Here are all of his most beautiful, most romantic hits. This is truly beautiful music for any time!

Charmaine • Moonlight And Roses • There! I've Said It Again • Red Roses For A Blue Lady • Racing With The Moon • Ghost Riders In The Sky • Carolina Moon • Look For The Silver Lining • Did You Ever See A Dream Walking • Cool Water • Dream A Little Dream Of Me • Someday (You'll Want Me To Want You) • Ballerina • I Wish I Didn't Love You So • Let It Snow! • Kiss Me Again • The Night Is Young And You're So Beautiful • I'll See You In My Dreams

VAUGHN MONROE
#124610 Cassette $9.98
#124628 Compact Disc $14.98

National Review Music Service, Dept. 051946
150 East 35 Street, New York, NY 10016

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Item No.	Qty	Title	Total Price

☐ Check Enclosed (make payable to National Review)
Charge My: ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard
☐ Discover Exp. Date _____

Card No. _____

Signature _____

Sub-Total	
NY & MD Res. add sales tax	
Postage and Handling	$3.50
Check or Charge Total	

Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plore: 1) actual African marital customs and 2) the period of black family disintegration, which did not begin until after the introduction of AFDC in 1935. Thus, while Gutman's research cannot be challenged on its own grounds, it must be framed by events before and after.

Under the influence of European Christianity, African slaves traded matrilineal polygyny for what Margaret Mead once described as a "brittle monogamy." So things continued after slavery was abolished in the United States. Gutman shows that in several North Carolina counties, more than 70 per cent of African-American women obtained marriage licenses in one year, 1866, when there was widespread fear that slave marriages would not be considered legal. Surveys taken from 1870 to 1925 in both South and North reveal a consistent pattern, with 80 to 90 per cent of black homes including a father. In fact, the only "single-parent homes" appear to be those headed by widows.

The clues to what has happened since 1925, the point at which Gutman discontinued his research, can be found in the very documents he uses to make his case: the complete records of several large plantations in North Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana, which registered hundreds of births between 1750 and 1860. As noted, these records show that 80 per cent of children were being raised in two-parent households. Although perhaps somewhat atypical, since the plantations were obviously well-run and were probably more humane about selling children and breaking up families, the records clearly indicate that, even during slavery, two-parent families predominated among black households.

"What a terrible nightmare! I dreamt you were paid what you're worth."

But they also reveal something that Gutman overlooks—something that helps solve the mystery of the welfare culture. The records of the Bennehan–Cameron Plantation in North Carolina are the most extensive, listing 57 families that registered births for 241 children. Of the 57 families, only 13 were headed by "unmarried mothers," with no father listed on any of their birth records. Among these 13 mothers, only five had more than one child. Together, the 13 single mothers produced 22 births (9 per cent of the total). The number of children born within permanent marriages, on the other hand, was 165, or 68 per cent of the total.

The remaining births—54 children, or 23 per cent—were "children of fortune," born either to an unlisted father or to a man who did not father the remainder of the mother's children. In almost every instance, these children were born before the mother settled down to a permanent marriage. Typically, a woman would have one or two illegitimacies, usually to an unknown father, then become permanently attached to one man for the rest of her life.

In total, then, among the 57 families, 24 (42 per cent) had marriages in which all children had the same father. In twenty families (35 per cent), the mother had one or two early illegitimacies, then settled down to a permanent marriage. The other 13 families (23 per cent) were headed by single mothers. Among families with more than one child, 38 per cent were monogamous marriages, 50 per cent involved early illegitimacies, and 12 per cent had single mothers.

Thus, although more than 80 per cent of the children were *raised* in two-parent households, one-third of births occurred out of wedlock. For half the adult population, family formation did not occur until after the woman had given birth to at least one child. But it occurred nevertheless. By the time everyone had settled down to permanent arrangements, more than 80 per cent of the population was living in two-parent households.

Persisting Pattern

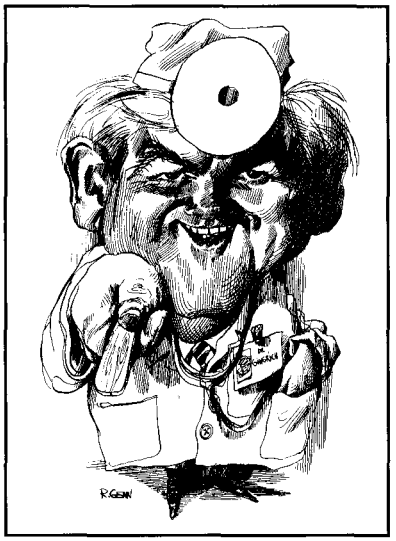
AS A welfare-rights worker in Clark County, Alabama, in 1969, I saw the same pattern largely intact more than a hundred years later. Working as a volunteer for the Southern Rural Research Project, I was supposed to find people in the county who were eligible for welfare. A few people qualified for old-age or disability pensions, but my clientele consisted mostly of the ubiquitous girls in their late teens and early 20s who had already had a baby and were still living with their parents.

Among older women in the community, most had also had early illegitimacies but eventually settled into some permanent, if tenuous, marriage. All the farming was done by men, and indeed all men worked. Some were suspiciously absent for long periods of time, however, and were suspected of practicing bigamy. This pattern was then quite familiar in the South and was memorialized in the Temptations' mournful lament, "Papa Was a Rolling Stone." (". . . talk goin' round town sayin' Papa had three outside children and another wife—and that ain't right!") Based on this experience, it has always been obvious to me—and anyone else who lived in the South during the Sixties and Seventies—that welfare was not "causing" teenage girls to have illegitimate babies. The pattern was there long before welfare.

What welfare did was to *disrupt the process of family formation*. In a practice traceable to Africa, a young woman would have one or two illegitimate children who could be supported by her natal family. Only when the children began to grow, or the girl became pregnant for the second or third time, would her family force her to seek a husband. Immigrants from Puerto Rico and other Central American cultures often do the same. This cus-

(Continues on page 76)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A Cure for Middle-Class Anxiety

PATIENT APPROACH

Conservatives can seize control of the health-care issue from the Democrats by emphasizing individual choice and ownership of medical coverage.

STUART BUTLER

MENTION health-care reform to almost any assembly of Republicans on Capitol Hill these days, and you will be met with a sigh of exhaustion or indifference. For most returning lawmakers the topic conjures up a near-death experience best not risked again any time soon.

But the issue is not going away. The structural problems with the health-care system that triggered public anxiety are still there. To be sure, with the economy growing, and with inflation low, fewer today worry about losing their coverage, and health costs are moderating. But that won't last long. Medical prices continue to rise at about double the general inflation rate, so even a modest upturn in inflation will mean a sharp increase in business costs, followed by boardroom bleating for the government to "do something." The next recession will mean another surge in the number of uninsured and—politically more important—more middle-class Americans who fear their families will *become* uninsured. Furthermore, newly elected Republicans pledged to enact drastic budget cuts and balance the budget will soon have to deal with Medicare and Medicaid spending.

The only way Republicans can dispose of health care as an issue is to tackle it head on and reform it according to conservative principles. Otherwise it will keep coming back, on political ground chosen by liberals. If conservatives allow that to happen, the liberals will prevail. A team that plays only defense eventually loses.

Now is the time to attack. With Republicans in control of Congress, with Democratic health proposals tainted by the Clinton plan, and with Bill Clinton me-tooing virtually every Newt Gingrich proposal, there could not be a better opportunity for a decisive conservative reform of the system.

The crucial task is to change the terms of the debate. Conservatives must end the public perception that only Democrats are serious about addressing this middle-class concern. They need to give a clear idea of what is really wrong with the health-care system and how to fix it. Real welfare reform is possible today only because conservatives changed people's thinking about welfare. Liberals are on the defensive on education because conservatives cogently explained both why the existing public-school system *cannot* produce educated children and why parental choice is needed to force structural change. In a mirror image of the health-care debate, it is conservatives who choose where, when, and how to fight on school reform. It is liberals who must try to hold off every reform initiative; they know that if they lose one major battle, as they eventually will, they will lose the war.

Conservatives need to wage a similar campaign to wrest control of the health-care debate from liberals and build the case for free-market reforms. We didn't do this in 1994, despite the mauling of the Clinton plan. We neither reinterpreted the problem for the confused middle class nor sought to build public support for a conservative solution. We must do both if we are to end forever the prospect of socialized medicine in America. We must also do both before attempting any sweeping reform of the health-care system. Pushing for radical change without the support of a better-informed public risks a Republican version of the Clinton health-care debacle.

Explaining the Problem

CONSERVATIVES need to explain to middle-class Americans, in simple English, how the poor design of the current system leads to their anxiety. They need to persuade the public that security in health care depends on families choosing, owning, and controlling their own health-care coverage.

It is not difficult to explain this to people, as I and my colleagues at the Heritage Foundation discovered in town-hall meetings held to discuss the Clinton plan. We explained that although a huge tax break—in total worth far more than the mortgage-interest deduction—helps offset the cost of health care, that tax break comes with a big catch. To be eligible for it, each worker has to hand over ownership and control of his family's health plan, including what's covered, to his employer. If the employer uses part of the worker's compensation to provide health-insurance coverage, the employee pays no taxes on the value of that benefit. But if the worker were to pick and purchase his own plan with the same money, he would have to pay taxes in almost every case. The vast majority of working Americans are

Mr. Butler is vice president of domestic- and economic-policy studies at the Heritage Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trapped in an employer-controlled system because of the enormous tax penalty against exercising individual ownership and control.

The typical health-care concerns of today inevitably follow. Changing jobs means changing employer-owned coverage and often doctors too. The new employer may not even provide coverage. Even without a job change, there is the constant worry that the employer will alter the terms of coverage. On the other side of the coin, because the worker does not own and control the plan, or decide how much of his compensation goes to it, he and his family have little or no incentive to economize sensibly on health care.

The loss of family control also means that the health-insurance industry, and hence the whole health-care delivery system, focuses on the needs and wishes of the employer who owns the plan, not those of the worker. In the twenty years I have lived in the U.S., I have never received a telephone call or piece of mail from a health-insurance company seeking my business. Understandably, insurers are interested only in my employer. And their incentive is to cut costs for my employer—for example, by denying claims or subjecting me to impenetrable paperwork before reimbursing me—not to please me. I'm not the customer, after all. I'm merely a "covered employee."

This lack of ownership and control is to the dynamics of health care as the lack of parental choice is to the dynamics of public schools. Conservatives have to explain this to middle-class Americans. It should not be a difficult sell. People who own their homes, automobiles, and life insurance understand why ownership matters.

The solution also is quite salable. Real middle-class security in health care can come only from owning your own health-care coverage. And the only way that will happen is by ending the tax penalties against individual ownership of health plans. Making the tax system neutral in this respect would allow Americans to choose plans directly from insurers or through organizations of their choice, such as churches or unions, as well as through willing employers.

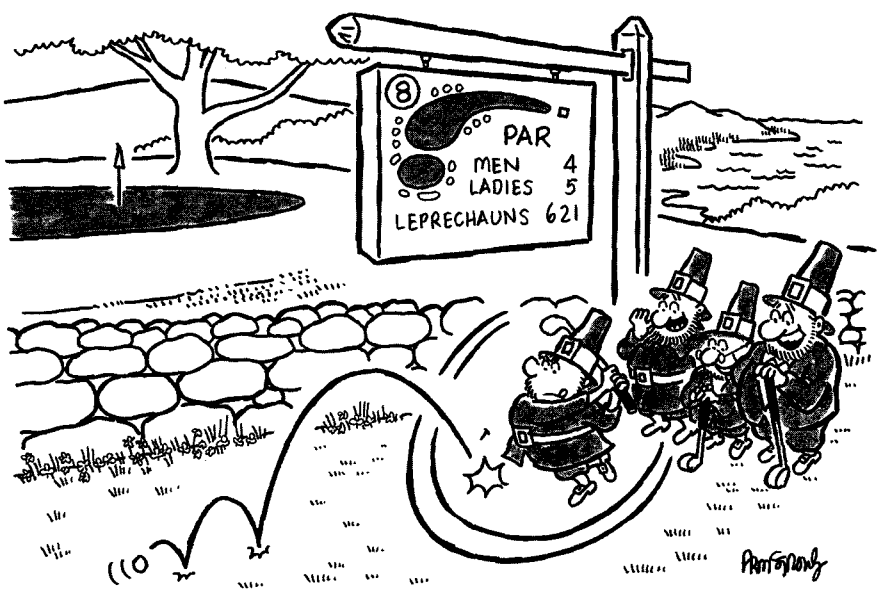
Clear Choices

BY emphasizing ownership and control, conservatives would force liberals into a national debate presenting clear choices. Liberals want a health-care system in which ownership and control of each family's health care is in the hands of employers (as today) or in the hands of government. Conservatives want to put ownership and control—and hence power over insurers, hospitals, and doctors—in the hands of families. Conservatives can win that debate easily, and in so doing we will change the politics of health care, winning public support for a decisive change in federal tax and regulatory policies.

The way to force liberals into this national debate is to copy Clinton's nearly successful campaign to persuade Americans to embrace a socialist health-care system. We should hold our own town-hall meetings around the country to showcase our own victims and advocates. Bring in business people who will explain that employers actually spend their workers' money on health plans. Highlight the farm-bureau and union health plans, as well as the church health systems. Then bring in our experts to point out that an unfair tax system makes it financially impossible for most families to gain the security of choosing such non-employer-based plans. Best of all, introduce Americans to federal workers and members of Congress from their areas who come closest to owning coverage they choose themselves without tax penalty and who don't share the worries of other Americans. In Washington, supplement these presentations with a barrage of official studies and hearings, run by the new Republican majority, to reinforce the grass-roots campaign. In short, do what Clinton and the Democrats did, but use it to sell an analysis and product which, unlike the Clinton plan, Americans instinctively will buy.

In this populist campaign, the details of legislation are much less important than emphasizing the principles of reform. This is good news for the conservative movement. Unlike the situation through much of 1994, when there was a real possibility that Clinton-style reforms would be enacted, it is not necessary today for conservatives to agree on one bill. Last year's sometimes bitter disputes within the movement over legislation to block the Clinton plan can and should be put aside in 1995. Similarly, this is not the time for discussions about legislative specifics. Rival conservative bills are options for later debate. This is a time for simple propositions and bold colors. The first order of business is to win the national debate about family ownership and the need for tax neutrality to achieve it.

Meanwhile, conservatives should block all major health legislation until the national debate changes the climate for reform. Even more important, conservative lawmakers must prevent their colleagues from being railroaded into supporting most "incremental" bills, such as the Rowland–Bilirakis bill or the "mainstream" legislation of last year. These are said to contain items "everyone can agree on." After all, who can oppose "small-group-mar-



"Big hit, Brian, lad—Big hit!!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Fight for Freedom...

The delightful resurgence of conservatives in Congress would have come as no surprise to Thomas Paine. Paine understood the power of ideas to change society.

Paine wouldn't stop at capturing Congress, though. He'd be agitating to overthrow the remaining bastions of liberalism: in the media, television, and universities.

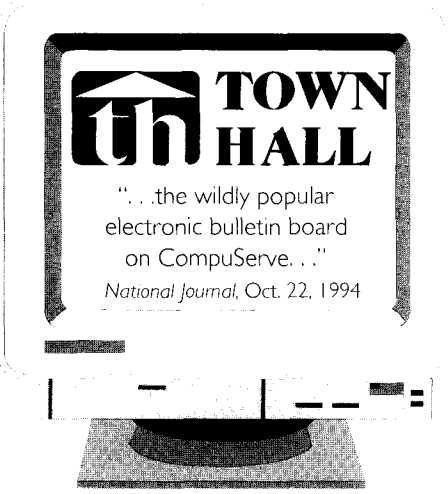
But he wouldn't be using pamphlets anymore. He'd be on the computer. And so should you.

Specifically, you should be on TOWN HALL—the nation's first interactive computer network for people who are passionate about conservative ideas and politics.

...Only the Tools Have Changed

TOWN HALL, a private forum on CompuServe, gives you:

- ***All the news—uncut,*** with instant access to stories the liberal media ignore. Get the unexpurgated details of conservative proposals—straight from Capitol Hill. Find out the all-important news the *New York Times* thinks is *unfit* to print.
- ***Exclusive reports and analyses*** from leading conservatives at The Heritage Foundation, *National Review*, and other prominent idea factories. Arm yourself with the latest arguments from the finest minds in conservatism.
- ***Winning ideas and strategies*** from like-minded conservatives around the country. Read and discuss online the winning ideas that animate the conservative movement.
- ***Access to influential conservatives.*** The friendships forged on TOWN HALL often lead to relationships of personal, professional or political importance.
- ***Unlimited connect time*** for only $16 a month plus CompuServe's basic services fee. Get TOWN HALL and all of CompuServe's basic services with ***no hourly fees.***



Already have a CompuServe ID?
GO TOWNHALL!

Join the Battle for Freedom. Join TOWN HALL.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Internet Address _____ @ _____

For a 30-Day Free Trial, Call:

1-800-441-4142

Or Send This Form to:

TOWN HALL
214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

A project of *National Review* and The Heritage Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ket reform" or "doing something about malpractice"? Conservatives can and should. Most of these "first steps" would take the country down the Clinton path. Conservatives should demand to know what the *last* step will be before any vote, so that Americans can learn where a seemingly innocuous measure will take them.

This means opposing all incremental measures that would widen the flawed employer-based system, such as most "small-market reform" proposals. It means blocking any government-determined comprehensive benefits package for private health plans. It also means defeating phony federalist proposals that would actually centralize control or permit government to take over private plans. These include the ill-considered "swap" idea pushed by Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R., Kan.), which would give states complete control of welfare in return for a federal takeover of Medicaid. Ask yourself: Are we going to bring efficiency to Medicaid by letting Washington run it? Also included on the "no" list should be proposals to make state experimentation easier by ending ERISA protection for self-insured corporate health plans. (ERISA is the federal law that prevents states from imposing benefit mandates and taxes on such plans.) While state experimentation is always better than federal control, ERISA "reform" is merely a liberal ploy to let state governments control most private health plans.

One true federalist initiative that also would help end divisions in the conservative movement would be for Congress to declare that insurance rules for non-ERISA plans and malpractice reform are matters for state governments. Liberals pushed federal insurance reform in 1994 as part of their strategy to nationalize the system. Conservatives clashed over how to deal with this threat and on the proper role of insurance reform in creating a consumer-based health system. For the most part the issue of insurance reform in 1995 can safely be resolved at the state level. Let the "marketplace" of competing state proposals separate good approaches from bad, as it is already doing.

Conservatives instead should push incremental proposals that move the country in the direction of individual ownership and control of health plans and tax neutrality to achieve that ownership. There will be plenty of opportunities to do that. Early in the year, for instance, there will be bipartisan moves to restore the 25 per cent tax deduction for purchases of health insurance by the self-employed, which was eliminated by Democrats in anticipation of comprehensive health-care legislation. But rather than simply restoring the deduction, conservatives should press on equity grounds for extending it to any American without company-sponsored insurance. Conservatives might urge Congress, as a first step, to provide a deduction only for plans already offered through large affinity groups, specifically churches, unions,

"I call it a 'copy machine,' your grace. Here's how it works . . ."

and farm bureaus, or through the Federal Employee Health Benefits Program (which allows members of Congress and federal workers to pick and buy their own plans, several of them sponsored by unions). This approach would attract the support of powerful constituencies for the final objective of ending tax discrimination against individual-owned plans.

The ultimate tax-reform objective of most conservatives, after ending the current tax bias against families with children, is a low-rate flat tax imposed on *all* compensation, either with all savings shielded from taxation until they are spent or the returns from savings made tax free. That would mean achieving tax neutrality by ending all special tax breaks for medical spending. But until that can be achieved, the next-best approach is to move toward the same tax treatment for health insurance from any source.

The push for middle-class tax relief is another opportunity for moving in the right direction on health care. Clinton's proposal to permit IRA withdrawals for non-retirement purposes opens the door for Medisave accounts. Medisave should be as compatible as possible with long-term conservative tax-reform objectives. A good version would allow Americans to take money out of tax-deferred, IRA-type accounts for medical purposes without tax penalty. A compatible alternative would be Medisave accounts funded with after-tax income, but with no taxes payable on the build-up of funds in the accounts.

Conservatives also can start introducing the principles of individual plan ownership into the Medicare system, with the ultimate aim of transforming today's bureaucratic, price-controlled monstrosity into a consumer-choice system for retirees. The easiest way to begin would be to let new retirees take the actuarial value of their Medicare benefits (that is, based on their age-adjusted likely use of care) in the form of a voucher that could be used to enroll in the private plan of their choice. This limited approach would not threaten any of today's retirees or add to the deficit. But it would lead a growing proportion of the elderly to enroll in health plans they choose and own, encouraging them to seek the best value for their money.

The remarkable election of 1994 presents a chance to force through legislation on issues where the American people already have been convinced by conservative analysis and proposals: welfare, deregulation, tax relief. But just as important, the new power structure in Washington and the radical mood in America mean conservatives have a historic opening to rewrite the rules of political debate on issues once considered the home turf of liberals. The most crucial of these is health care. For years liberals have seen anxiety about the flawed employer-based system as the key to drawing the middle class into the liberal coalition. For liberals, a government-run health-care program is to the middle class what Social Security was to the elderly and the Great Society was to the poor. And

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with health care representing one-seventh of the U.S. economy, it has always been an attractive target for central planners. In this context, liberals would dearly love the conservative movement to avoid the health-care issue until they can regroup and fight again on their chosen ground. Conservatives should not give them that respite. □

A Consensus on Gun Control

SHOT DOWN

Cops, criminals, and criminologists are equally skeptical about firearm prohibition.

DON B. KATES JR.

CRIMINOLOGISTS, criminals, and cops all have a professional interest in crime. It is therefore significant that criminological research has generally validated the skepticism of both police and criminals about the effectiveness of gun control. Yet the consensus among these three sets of professionals has received little attention in the popular media.

Surprisingly, in light of the fervent support for stringent gun control that many academics expressed in the 1960s, serious research in this area did not begin until the 1970s. That research demonstrates that no amount of control over mere weaponry can overcome the fundamental socio-cultural and economic determinants of crime. Indeed, the evidence indicates that banning gun possession by the general public is actually counterproductive.

The most prolific researcher in this area is Gary Kleck of Florida State University's School of Criminology. His encyclopedic 1991 book, *Point Blank: Guns and Violence in America*, has won high praise even from academics distressed by its findings. Broadly speaking, those findings are: 1) Gun possession by ordinary citizens is not a problem; the perpetrators of gun crime and accidents are aberrant individuals with histories of substance abuse, violence, felonies, and other dangerous behavior. 2) While outlawing possession of guns by such people is plainly sensible, it can bring at best marginal

Mr. Kates, a San Francisco civil-liberties lawyer and criminologist, is the editor of Firearms and Violence *(Ballinger) and the firearms-regulation issue of* Law and Contemporary Problems.

Small Company's New Golf Ball Flies Too Far; Could Obsolete Many Golf Courses

Pro Hits 400-Yard Tee Shots During Test Round

Want To Shoot An Eagle or Two ?

By Mike Hensen

YALESVILLE, CT – A small golf company in Connecticut has created a powerful, new ball that flies like a U-2, putts with the steady roll of a cue ball and bites the green on approach shots like a dropped cat. But don't look for it on weekend TV. Long-hitting pros could make a joke out of some of golf's finest courses with it. One pro who tested the ball drove it 400 yards, reaching the green on all but the longest par-fours. Scientific tests by an independent lab using a hitting machine prove the ball out-distances major brands dramatically.

The ball's extraordinary distance comes partly from a revolutionary new dimple design that keeps the ball aloft longer. But there's also a secret change in the core that makes it rise faster off the clubhead. Another change reduces air drag. The result is a ball that gains altitude quickly, then sails like a glider. None of the changes is noticeable in the ball itself.

Despite this extraordinary performance the company has a problem. A spokesman put it this way: "In golf you need endorsements and TV publicity. This is what gets you in the pro shops and stores where 95% of all golf products are sold. Unless the pros use your ball on TV, you're virtually locked out of these outlets. TV advertising is too expensive to buy on your own, at least for us.

"Now, you've seen how far this ball can fly. Can you imagine a pro using it on TV and eagle-ing par-fours? He would turn the course into a par-three, and real men don't play par-three's. This new fly-power forces us to sell it without relying on pros or pro-shops. One way is to sell it direct from our plant. That way we can keep the name printed on the ball a secret that only a buyer would know. There's more to golf than tournaments, you know."

The company guarantees a golfer a prompt refund if the new ball doesn't cut five to ten strokes off his or her average score. Simply return the balls--new or used--to the address below. "No one else would dare do that," boasted the company's director.

If you would like an eagle or two, here's your best chance yet. Write your name and address and "Code Name S" (the ball's R&D name) on a piece of paper and send it along with a check (or your credit card number and expiration date) to National Golf Center (Dept. S-780), 60 Church Street, Yalesville CT 06492. Or phone 800-285-3900 anytime. No P.O. boxes. One dozen "S" balls cost $26.50, two to five dozen are only $24.00 each, six dozen are only $119.00. You save $40.00 ordering six. Shipping and handling is only $4.50 no matter how large your order. Specify white or Hi-Vision yellow.

© Bost Enterprises, Inc. 1995

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

benefit as long as the fundamental determinants of their behavior remain unchanged. 3) Because guns empower the weak against the strong, and because victims are generally weaker than felons, widespread gun ownership is a net benefit for society.

Based on surveys of both the general populace and incarcerated felons, Kleck finds that gun-armed victims rout criminals three to four times more often than gun-armed criminals attack victims. And a victim who resists with a gun is only half as likely to be injured as a victim who submits—and far less likely to be robbed or raped.

In 1993 the American Society of Criminology declared Kleck's book the single most important contribution to criminological research in the previous three years. Kleck's findings are so unimpeachable that critics often resort to ad hominem attacks. They falsely accuse Kleck of being a National Rifle Association member, minion, or even employee. In fact, Kleck, a liberal Democrat and opponent of the death

Bad Guys, Bad Guns

ADVOCATES of gun control frequently make the mistake of assuming that good intentions are enough. The "Report to the President" from the Interdepartmental Working Group on Violence, which sums up the Clinton Administration's thinking on gun control, is a good example.

Like practically everyone else who has thought about gun-control issues in the last four or five decades, the working group wants "a method for restricting access by potential criminal users without compromising access by legitimate users." This requires some means of distinguishing between good guys and bad guys *before* they get a gun and do something nefarious with it. The report suggests requiring "a criminal record or mental health background check" as part of the Brady Law's five-day waiting period. After all, we don't want people who are "impaired by a mental illness, impaired by alcohol or drugs, or blinded by rage" to be able to buy guns.

The data-management problems with a criminal-background check were aired in the debate over the Brady Bill. Many police departments do not maintain their records in a fashion that allows quick computer access; sharing of records across jurisdictions is difficult. But one can at least imagine a national data system that would contain names and identifiers for every person ever convicted of (suspected of? arrested for?) a felony offense.

What would such a system accomplish? Even now, with no background check required (or even performed in most jurisdictions), only about one crime gun in six is directly obtained through normal retail channels. Most bad guys get guns through informal, off-the-record swaps, purchases, and trades with relatives, friends, drug dealers, or other street sources. Now imagine spending several hundred million dollars to create a fail-safe nationwide checking system that would identify people with felony records whenever they tried to make a retail gun purchase. The principal effect would probably be to drive that sixth felon out of the gun shop and into the street market—assuming that a serviceable fake ID could not be obtained.

The proposed "mental-health background" check seems sensible at first blush but in practice borders on the bizarre. Unlike felony records, which are public by definition, mental-health records are highly privileged and extremely confidential. The same is true of alcohol and drug histories. A national data system containing everybody's "mental-health background" and directly accessible by every gun dealer in the country poses some serious privacy issues, to say the least. Do you really want the proprietor of Bubba's Bait and Gun Shop, a federally licensed firearms dealer, to have direct, computerized access to your psychiatric history?

What mental-health conditions should prevent people from legally owning guns? The latest version of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (*DSM*), the American Psychiatric Association's official listing of mental disorders, includes such things as "disorders of the written expression," which covers such dangerous psychiatric infirmities as poor spelling, bad penmanship, and inability to punctuate. A recent University of Michigan survey found that fully half of all Americans suffer at some time in their lives from one or another of the *DSM* "illnesses," with a third afflicted in any given year.

People create a "mental-health background" when they seek professional counseling for marital problems, or see a psychiatrist because of compulsive over-eating, or in a thousand other ways. Just how much of a mental-health "background" would be enough to disqualify someone from owning a gun? And who would set the criteria? The government? The American Psychiatric Association?

As noted, the general problem with "background checks" of all sorts at the point of sale is that the bad guys do not buy guns through customary retail outlets. Such checks are typically justified on the grounds that "it can't do any harm and might do some good." But background checks take up police time and resources that might otherwise be spent in other, more cost-effective ways. The working group's report asserts (without documentation or reference) that "states which have implemented such checks report that they prevent legal firearms purchases by thousands of prohibited persons each year." That sounds impressive until one realizes that there are some four to six *million* retail gun transactions in the U.S. each year. If you have to check millions of records to prevent a few thousand acquisitions, have you made the most efficient possible use of police resources?

IN ADDITION to mandatory criminal and mental-health background checks, the report recommends banning certain types of guns and ammunition, restricting other types of guns, further limiting

Mr. Wright, a professor of sociology at Tulane University, is co-author of Armed and Considered Dangerous: A Survey of Felons and Their Firearms *and* Under the Gun: Weapons, Crime, and Violence in America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

penalty, is a member not of the NRA but of Amnesty International and the ACLU. Moreover, Kleck started out on the other side of the gun-control debate. In a 1991 speech to the National Academy of Sciences, he said:

> When I began my research on guns in 1976, like most academics, I was a believer in the 'anti-gun' thesis. . . . It seemed then like self-evident common sense which hardly needed to be empirically tested. . . . [But] the best currently available evidence, imperfect though it is (and must always be), indicates that general gun availability has no measurable net positive effect on rates of homicide, suicide, robbery, assault, rape, or burglary in the U.S. . . . Further, when victims have guns, it is less likely aggressors will attack or injure them and less likely they will lose property in a robbery. . . . The positive associations often found between aggregate levels of violence and gun ownership appear to be primarily due to violence increasing gun ownership, rather than the reverse.

Other scholars have also changed

---

production and importation of these weapons, and raising taxes on handguns and other firearms. Among the guns to be banned are the so-called assault weapons, covered by last year's Omnibus Crime Act. Among those to be "restricted" would be all handguns and any "semi-automatic long guns" that are not otherwise outlawed. Hence all that would be left on the unrestricted list would be long guns that are not semi-automatic, such as bolt-action rifles.

The report thus seeks to distinguish between good guns and bad guns, as well as between good guys and bad guys. But a firearm is basically a chunk of machined metal that can be used for a variety of purposes, all of which involve hurtling a projectile at high velocity toward a target. Guns are neither inherently good nor inherently evil. Benevolence and malevolence inhere in the motives and behaviors of people, not in the technology they use.

The report proposes limiting ownership of "restricted" firearms, including all handguns, to persons who could show that "the firearm would be used only for specified legitimate purposes." Nothing in the report suggests just what purposes would be considered "legitimate." Such guns could only be possessed "in one's home, one's place of business, on the premises of a target range . . . or while being transported to or from any of the above." One gathers that all outdoor use of "restricted" weapons would be banned.

Many guns are owned, either primarily or secondarily, for defense against crime, and a substantial number (just how many is a matter of dispute) are actually used for that purpose each year. Would self-defense be considered a "legitimate" reason for gun ownership? Who would decide whose need for self-protection is "legitimate" and whose is not? Would the beleaguered single mother in the housing project and the affluent suburbanite be looked upon with equal favor? More generally, does a society that is manifestly incapable of protecting its citizens from crime and predation really have any moral authority to tell people what they may and may not own or do to protect themselves? The report does not consider these issues.

THE report recognizes, however, that restrictions on manufacture and new sales of guns do not address the vast arsenal of firearms already circulating in the U.S.: some 200 million guns in private hands, more than enough to sustain the present level of violence for another century or two. In the face of this challenge, the report recommends:

Amnesty and buy-back programs. Various "buy-back" programs have been tried in a number of cities. They usually net a few dozen to a few hundred guns. Most of the guns brought in by these programs have a street value lower than the buy-back price. A buy-back program is an opportunity to unload a piece of junk for enough cash to pick up a really good piece of equipment.

Eliminating the sale of confiscated guns back to the general public. Nationwide, the police confiscate something on the order of a quarter-million guns annually. At that rate, we will be rid of all the guns now circulating in the market in about eight hundred years.

Requiring that all firearm transfers be registered. That criminals will generally be indifferent to the law seems obvious, but it is a lesson we have had to relearn time and time again. Murder is already against the law, yet murderers still murder; armed robbery is against the law, yet robbers still rob. And as a matter of fact, gun acquisition by felons, whether from retail or private sources, is also already illegal, yet felons still acquire guns. We can certainly pass a law requiring that every gun transfer be registered with the police, or one requiring that the buyer and seller both trundle off to a licensed dealer to document the transaction and run the mandatory background check. But who, exactly, do we expect to comply with such laws?

In general, the report approaches gun control as a public-health issue, to be treated like automobile safety, cigarette smoking, and alcohol consumption. Some of the report's recommendations in this connection are sensible: public education to promote firearm safety, sound scientific research on the effectiveness of various interventions, experimentation with safer gun technology. And there is a sense in which violence is a public-health problem. So let me illustrate the limitations of this line of reasoning with a public-health analogy.

After research disclosed that mosquitoes were the vector for transmission of yellow fever, the disease was not controlled by sending men in white coats to the swamps with tweezers to remove the mouth parts from all the insects they could find. The only sensible, efficient way to stop the biting was to attack the environment where the mosquitoes bred.

Guns are the mouth parts of the violence epidemic. The contemporary urban environment breeds violence no less than swamps breed mosquitoes. Attempting to control the problem of violence by trying to disarm the perpetrators is as hopeless as trying to contain yellow fever through mandible control. —JAMES D. WRIGHT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

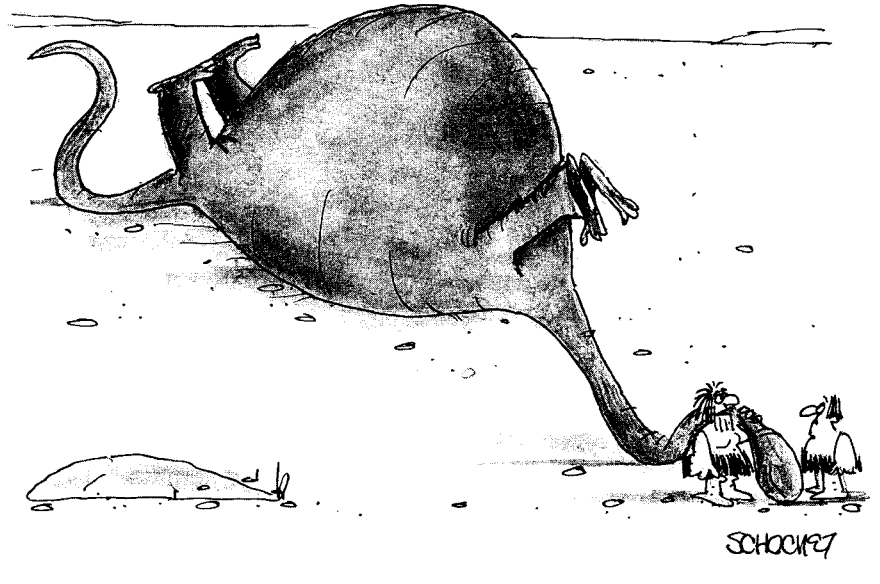
their views. University of Maryland political scientist Ted Robert Gurr and State University of New York criminologist Hans Toch were closely associated with the Eisenhower Commission, which concluded in the Sixties that "reducing the availability of the handgun *will* reduce firearms violence." Based on subsequent research, however, each now repudiates this judgment. "When used for protection," Toch writes, "firearms can seriously inhibit aggression and can provide a psychological buffer against the fear of crime. Furthermore, the fact that national patterns show little violent crime where guns are most dense implies that guns do not elicit aggression in any meaningful way. Quite the contrary, these findings suggest that high saturations of guns in places, or something correlated with that condition, inhibit illegal aggression."

Gurr has come to believe that handgun prohibition "would criminalize much of the citizenry but have only marginal effects on criminals," while "overemphasis on such proposals diverts attention from the kinds of conditions that are responsible for much of our crime, such as persisting poverty for the black underclass and some whites and Hispanics." Gurr adds that "guns can be an effective defense," noting that UCLA historian Roger McGrath's evidence from the 19th-century American West "shows that widespread gun ownership deterred" acquisitive crimes. "Modern studies," he writes, "also show that widespread gun ownership deters crime. . . . Convicted robbers and burglars report that they are deterred when they think their potential targets are armed."

Ask the Felons

INDEED, felons have consistently said that banning handguns would make their lives safer and easier by disarming victims without affecting their own ability to obtain weapons. "Ban guns," said a typical convict interviewed by New York University criminologist Ernest van den Haag in the mid 1970s. "I'd love it. I'm an armed robber."

In 1982 the Chicago suburb of Morton Grove received nationwide publicity for enacting the nation's first handgun ban. Surprisingly little attention was paid to two remarkable responses. One was a letter an inmate in a Florida prison wrote the editor of a local newspaper: "If guns are banned, then I as a criminal feel a lot safer. When a thief breaks into someone's house or property, the first thing to worry about is getting shot by the owner. But now, it seems we won't have to worry about that anymore." Branding it a "fantasy that just because guns are outlawed we, the crooks, can't get guns," the author asserted that "the only people who can't are the ones we victimize. . . . Drugs are against the law. Does that stop us? It's also against the law to rob and steal. But does a law stop us? One more thing: I thank you, the public, for giving me this fine opportunity to further my criminal career."



"You should have seen the one that got away."

Similarly, the editor of the inmate newspaper at the Illinois Correctional Center in Menard "made it a point to get the views of those in the real know—convicts here for armed robbery, some of them extremely professional individuals with years of experience in their chosen field. The[y] . . . were unanimous that you in Morton Grove are making things a bit easier for us . . . [The] law is meaningless and useless in curbing crime. However, it is very effective in curbing the general populace. This coming from 'hardened criminals,' professionals, convicts . . . someone should listen!"

Perhaps the National Institute of Justice did listen. In 1983 it funded a survey of two thousand felons in state prisons across the U.S. In addition to overwhelmingly endorsing the views set out above, 39 per cent of the felons in the NIJ survey said they had aborted at least one crime because they believed the intended victim was armed; 8 per cent had done so "many" times; 34 per cent had been "scared off, shot at, wounded, or captured by an armed victim"; and 69 per cent knew at least one acquaintance who had had such an experience.

Thirty-four per cent of the felons said that in contemplating a crime they either "often" or "regularly" worried that they "might get shot at by the victim." Asked about criminals in general, 56 per cent of the inmates agreed that "a criminal is not going to mess around with a victim he knows is armed with a gun"; 57 per cent agreed that "most criminals are more worried about meeting an armed victim than they are about running into the police"; 58 per cent agreed that "a store owner who is known to keep a gun on the premises is not going to get robbed very often"; and 74 per cent agreed that "one reason burglars avoid houses when people are home is that they fear being shot during the crime."

Since 1976 the District of Columbia has had the country's most extreme gun law: no civilian may buy or carry a handgun, nor may *any* gun be kept loaded or assembled in a home for self-defense. Nevertheless, Washington has one of the highest homicide rates in the country. In 1992 *Washington Post* reporters interviewed the 114 inmates in D.C.'s Lorton Prison who had been convicted of at least one gun crime. The consensus was clear: "Gun control is not the answer, the inmates agreed."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Message from Negative Population Growth, Inc.

Why We Must Reduce Immigration From Over One Million to 100,000 a Year

It Makes No Sense for Our Nation to Permit Massive Immigration

We now allow over one million immigrants to settle here every year. If our fertility rate remains at 2.0, continuing immigration at that level would swell our population to nearly 500 million before the end of the next century. **That would almost double our present size!**

Such growth would be intolerable. It would destroy our environment, our standard of living and the quality of our lives.

With a present population of 262 million, our country is already vastly overpopulated in terms of the long range carrying capacity of its resources and environment. Yet we continue to grow rapidly, by 25 to 30 million each decade.

We Need to Halt and Then Reverse Our Population Growth

We at NPG believe that our goal should be to stabilize our U.S. population at no more than 150 million, its size back in 1950. We consider that to be the optimum size for our country.

We Americans do not have to agree now on the exact size of a smaller population, however, since any substantial reduction in numbers would take many decades to achieve. It is only essential that we agree on the urgent need to halt and reverse our population growth.

Immigration Must Be Drastically Reduced

Because we have allowed our nation to become seriously overpopulated we are in deep trouble. A quick and easy solution simply does not exist. To start on the path toward a smaller, more sustainable population, we must halt illegal immigration and sharply reduce legal immigration.

Accordingly, NPG strongly recommends that legal immigration be cut back from its present 900,000 per year to no more than 100,000, including all relatives, refugees and asylees. We further call for an all-out effort to reduce illegal immigration, currently estimated at 300,000 a year, to as near zero as possible.

Best Case Scenario: Low Fertility, Low Immigration

What would happen to our population if our fertility rate were gradually reduced from the present 2.0 to 1.5 by 2050, if illegal immigration were virtually halted, and if legal immigration were reduced in 1996 from the present 900,000 a year to 100,000 a year, as we advocate?

The bad news is that our population would still continue growing for another 25 years, peaking at 300 million in 2020. **The good news** is that by the end of the next century it would have declined to around 180 million. In a few more years it would reach 150 million and could be stabilized at that level, even allowing a slight increase in fertility and/or immigration.

This is the path to a smaller population that NPG advocates.

Another Scenario: Low Fertility, High Immigration

If our fertility were reduced as in the "best case" scenario, but immigration remained at its present high level, the picture would be far worse.

1. Our population would continue growing for another 55 years, peaking in 2050 at 337 million, **75 million more than we are now.** Our impact on the environment would accordingly be that much greater.

2. Even by the end of the next century, our population would still be 298 million, 36 million greater than it is today, **and 121 million larger than it would be under the "best case" low immigration scenario.**

This is a path that our nation cannot afford to follow. **Clearly, the level of immigration will have a tremendous influence on the eventual size of our population.**

We Cannot Rely on Fertility Decline Alone to Reverse Our Population Growth

Fertility rates are difficult to change and when they do change, they almost always do so very slowly. Furthermore, future fertility rates are unpredictable: they might well increase rather than decrease. Over the last 18 years, for example, the trend has been upward, from a low of 1.7 in 1976 to 2.0 in the last few years.

That is all the more reason why we must reduce immigration to a level consistent with our long-term national interest. Reducing immigration is a much faster and more certain way to get results than relying on fertility decline.

If we can persuade our government to act decisively **NOW** to halt illegal immigration — and to cut legal immigration from 900,000 to 100,000 a year — **we will at last be doing something** to brake runaway population growth in our country.

If you believe with us that immigration must be drastically curbed — and without further delay — then we ask you to work for this goal as a member of Negative Population Growth. We need your help.

NPG is a nonprofit, national membership organization established in 1972. Contributions to NPG are tax deductible to the extent the law allows.

Yes, I want to become a member of NPG, and help you work towards a smaller U.S. population. I am enclosing my check for annual membership dues.

____ $30 ____ $50 ____ $100 ____ Other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ___ Zip _____

Mail to: **Negative Population Growth, Inc.**
210 The Plaza, P.O. Box 1206, Teaneck, NJ 07666

NREV-95-35

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And they anticipated no difficulty obtaining an illegal gun. Though many claimed to want to go straight, 25 per cent flatly said they would get a gun as soon as they emerged from prison.

A week later a newspaper in Syracuse found similar opinions when it combined a survey of inmates in a nearby maximum-security prison with a survey of police officers in the local department. The two groups concurred that tougher gun laws would have no effect on crime; neither would banning assault weapons.

This congruence of opinion contradicts the impression that several prominent police chiefs have created that cops generally oppose civilian gun ownership. The truth is that these police chiefs were appointed precisely because their views sharply diverged from their peers'. Furthermore, strong political pressure tends to silence police administrators who oppose gun bans. In the mid 1980s Maurice Turner became Washington, D.C.'s first black police chief. When reporters inquired into the new chief's opinion of D.C.'s severe gun law, he replied that it was not just useless but actually promoted crime, since felons knew it had rendered victims defenseless. When his remarks were reported, he was called on the carpet by Mayor Marion Barry, who told him banning guns was a city policy that he was forbidden to criticize. Thereafter Chief Turner refused to comment on gun control (until he retired, whereupon he reiterated his previous views).

Boston Police Chief Robert DiGrazia, on the other hand, did sincerely champion the banning and confiscation of handguns. In 1976 he had his research division poll police opinion nationwide, hoping the results would support a Massachusetts ballot initiative to ban handguns. Thinking patrol officers would oppose the initiative, he limited the poll to administrators. Yet the survey found "a substantial majority of the respondents looked favorably on the general possession of handguns by the citizenry (excludes those with criminal records [or] history of mental instability). Strong approval was also elicited from the police administrators concerning possession of handguns in the home or place of business." The poll confirmed Chief DiGrazia's views in only one respect: the administrators agreed that officers who dealt with crime on the streets would be even more opposed to banning handguns.

This pattern has been confirmed by subsequent polling. For instance, in *Law Enforcement Technology* magazine's 1991 poll of two thousand cops across the nation, 76 per cent of street officers believed that licenses to carry concealed handguns for protection should be issued to every trained, responsible adult applicant; only 59 per cent of managers agreed. Ninety-one per cent of street officers opposed banning semi-automatic "assault rifles," compared to 66 per cent of top management. On the other hand, 94 per cent of street officers felt that private citizens should keep handguns in their homes and offices for self-defense, and 93 per cent of top management agreed. Over all, 93 per cent of the respondents supported defensive ownership of handguns, 85 per cent felt gun control had little potential to reduce crime, 79 per cent opposed banning "assault weapons," and 63 per cent supported widespread carrying of concealed handguns by trained civilians.

Every year since 1988, the National Association of Chiefs of Police has polled the nation's more than fifteen thousand police agencies, with a response rate of 10 per cent or more. The respondents have consistently said that their departments are understaffed and unable to adequately protect individuals; that law-abiding, responsible adults should have the right to own "any type of firearm" for self-defense; and that banning guns will not reduce crime. In these and other surveys police generally support moderate controls, such as background checks, designed to exclude felons from gun ownership to the extent possible without obstructing defensive ownership by law-abiding citizens.

It's possible, of course, that the cops, the criminals, and the criminologists are mistaken about gun control. But given the remarkable consensus, it's time to reconsider the casual assumption that weapons cause crime. □

If They Should Die Before They Wake . . .

KILLING GROUNDS

By dehumanizing brain-damaged patients, we have made it acceptable to starve or dehydrate them to death.

WESLEY J. SMITH

THOSE we would kill we must first dehumanize. That truism has been demonstrated repeatedly throughout history. Today in the United States, disabled people with brain damage are being systematically dehumanized so that society will accept the "compassion" and utility of killing them. "He is an empty shell, a vegetable," a person may say of a relative in a coma. "He is no different than a corpse," another may agree, as if the disabled person were already dead.

Physicians and lawyers representing families who wish to end the lives of their disabled loved ones can be even more brutal. "They, as human beings, have long since departed from the world," Dr. Fred Plum of Cornell University Medical Center recently told the *American Medical News*. "They're stealing from the mouths of others." Or consider this statement by Paul Armstrong, a lawyer who represented the parents of Nancy Ellen Jobes in their ultimately successful quest to withdraw food and fluids from their disabled daughter. People with profound brain damage, he said, are "nonmentiative [sic] organ systems, artificially sustained like valued cell lines in cancer laboratories." The medical terminology for such patients, who are said to be in a "persistent vegetative state" (PVS), reflects this attitude.

Since the truly dead often get more

Mr. Smith, an author and consumer advocate, is an attorney for the International Anti-Euthanasia Task Force.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

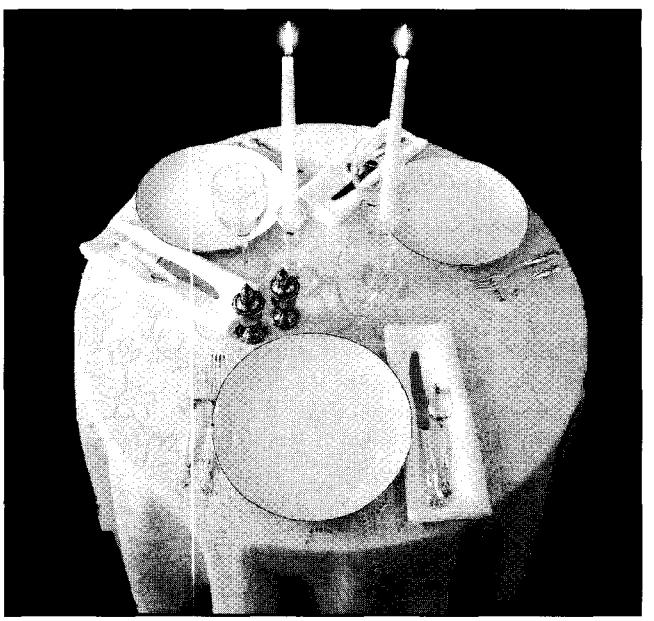
respect than the disabled living, it's hardly surprising that the killing of PVS patients by starvation and dehydration has become routine. The American Medical Association has given its blessing to the practice since 1986, when it approved starving or dehydrating terminally ill people on the brink of death and those who are "without doubt permanently unconscious." Nutrition through a feeding tube is now deemed "medical treatment" (which may be withheld) rather than "humane care" (which must be supplied).

Despite the limitations supposedly imposed by the AMA guidelines, conscious as well as comatose patients have been dehydrated to death. Nurses who cared for Nancy Cruzan—perhaps the most famous dehydration victim, because her case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court—insist to this day that she was conscious when her parents decided to withdraw her nutritional support. Indeed, she had been able to take food orally before a feeding tube was utilized to make her care easier. Likewise, Christine Busalacchi, whose care givers swore she smiled at jokes and responded to music, died by dehydration at the request of her father. Then there were the cases of Ronald Comeau (see "The Right to Die, the Power to Kill," *NR*, April 4) and Michael Martin (see "Better Dead Than Fed," *NR*, June 27). Both are indisputably conscious but judges nonetheless authorized their dehydration and starvation. Mr. Comeau was saved only because a pro-life minister succeeded in finding his relatives, who intervened. Mr. Martin's case is now before the Michigan Supreme Court.

These and many other cases fly in the face of the 1986 AMA guidelines, which require terminal illness or permanent unconsciousness. Not to worry. Last year the AMA revised its ethical rules to comport with the practices of physicians and the courts, expanding the list of those eligible for withholding of "artificial nutrition" to include the conscious but mentally incompetent, who cannot make medical decisions for themselves. "Even if the patient is not terminally ill or permanently unconscious," the AMA now says, "it is not unethical to discontinue all means of life-sustaining medical treatment in accordance with a proper substituted-judgment or best-interests analysis."

Furthermore, some who sanction the killing of the profoundly brain damaged would not limit it to patients who make their wishes known in advance or whose families choose to have nutrition withdrawn. They are pushing the nation toward a medical ethic that would eliminate the right of these patients to live—even if the family wants medical care to continue. The charge is being led by the prestigious *New England Journal of Medicine*. In a May 26, 1994, editorial, the journal's executive director, Dr. Marcia Angell, argues that doctors treating the profoundly disabled should be permitted to refuse treatment they consider futile or inappropriate. Dr. Angell describes three ways of accomplishing this.

First, death could be redefined to include permanent unconsciousness. The current definition, "brain death," was intended to permit organ harvesting. But after brain death, the body cannot be kept functioning more than a few days. By contrast, patients diagnosed as permanently unconscious can often survive without assistance, other than food and fluids, indefinitely. Dr. Angell sees a problem with redefining death to include those diagnosed as permanently unconscious: it would be un-



WILLFUL MALNUTRITION?

WHAT ELSE CAN YOU CALL IT if colleges no longer have the appetite for the ideals, the learning, the morals and traditions, the faith of their fathers?

THERE IS A BETTER WAY.

At Thomas Aquinas College we feast on the banquet of the Catholic and Western tradition. We learn logic from Aristotle, love from Shakespeare and Dante, theology from St. Thomas Aquinas, our patron.

WE HAVE A PLACE SET FOR YOU.

Call our Director of Admissions, Tom Susanka, at 800/634-9797, or write our Admissions Office, Thomas Aquinas College, Box 105, 10000 North Ojai Road, Santa Paula, CA 93060.

THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seemly to bury a breathing body. Thus, the "corpse" of an unconscious person considered "dead" would have to be killed.

Second, states could prohibit medical care for the unconscious after a specified time. The beauty of this approach, according to Dr. Angell, is that the decision to let a person die would be made in advance by society without regard to any particular case. In other words, the family would know that the decision to let their disabled relative die was nothing personal.

Third, states could create a legal presumption that people with brain damage would not want treatment after a specified time. A family that held the "idiosyncratic view" that their loved one should not be starved to death would have to prove that he had expressed a specific desire to be treated under these circumstances.

When the Doctor Is Wrong

THE equanimity with which much of society has accepted euthanasia by dehydration of these profoundly disabled people is disturbing to those who hold the old-fashioned view that all human life is sacred. But even those who have doubts about the moral status of comatose patients should recognize that people deemed by doctors to be permanently unconscious often aren't. In more than a few cases, such people have awakened. (If the definition of death is ever changed to include supposedly permanent unconsciousness, we could say they were resurrected.)

According to a growing body of medical literature, misdiagnosis of the persistent vegetative state is a real problem. A study published in the June 1991 *Archives of Neurology* found that, of 84 patients with a firm diagnosis of PVS, 58 per cent recovered consciousness within three years. Moreover, researchers were unable to identify objective "predictors of recovery" to differentiate between those who would awaken and those who would not. So it is likely that many who would recover consciousness given sufficient time are being killed in the name of compassion, cost containment, or "quality of life."

Dr. Angell suggests that such mistakes can be prevented by allowing sufficient time to pass after the brain injury. But as the dehumanizing of the profoundly brain damaged has progressed, the urge has grown to get them out of the way as soon as possible. "What we are seeing in too many cases is a completely improper rush to judgment that a patient is suffering PVS," says Pasadena neurologist Dr. Vincent Fortanasce. "It takes at least three to six months before a firm diagnosis of persistent vegetative state can be made. However, many doctors make such diagnoses within a week or less, often without objective testing. Eighty to ninety per cent of cases I see have been improperly diagnosed, often by doctors who are not qualified to make the diagnosis. Unfortunately, that's the real practice of medicine today."

To illustrate his point, Dr. Fortanasce describes a case in which he was involved. A sixty-year-old patient who had collapsed received a PVS diagnosis from his internist, who strongly recommended against continuing life support. The family was reluctant to see their loved one die, so they demanded a second opinion from a neurologist. "I came in and diagnosed a severe brain seizure, not PVS," Dr. Fortanasce says. "I prescribed continued life support and medication. Within a week, the patient walked out of the hospital in full possession of his faculties. If the family had listened to the internist, that man would be dead today."

And there is another twist. The Japanese may have discovered a way to wake up some patients from PVS. An article in the September 24 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported that Japanese doctors have awakened seven of twenty patients diagnosed as permanently unconscious by stimulating their mid-brains with electrodes. This news comes at an awkward time. Just when society seems to have accepted brain-damaged people as disposable, it turns out they may not be "dead" after all. Indeed, Dr. Christopher M. DeGeorgio, an assistant professor of neurology at the University of Southern California, reports that some PVS patients who have awakened report that they were aware of their surroundings while "unconscious." Such findings make it more difficult to starve brain-damaged patients to death and still get a good night's sleep.

Perhaps that is why the Japanese study has received little attention among bioethicists, who increasingly focus on determining which vulnerable group will be the next to be deemed expendable. If that seems harsh, consider what the director of the Hastings Center for Bioethics, Daniel Callahan, wrote in 1983: "Denial of nutrition may in the long run become the only effective way to make certain that a large number of biologically tenacious patients actually die. Given the increasingly large pool of the superannuated, chronically ill, physically marginal elderly, it could well become the non-treatment of choice." He said the practice could be kept under control "if there remains a deep-seated revulsion at the stopping of feeding even under legitimate circumstances." But given the current trend, that revulsion is fast becoming a thing of the past. □

The Self-Esteem Barrier

AIM HIGHER

Recent history shows that black students' test scores can be raised—if we set mandatory standards.

BARBARA LERNER

HERE, in a paragraph, is the picture of black America that emerges from Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve*:

As a group, black Americans are much less intelligent than white Americans. Their test scores—IQ, SAT, you name it—are about one standard

Miss Lerner is a psychologist, an attorney, and a freelance writer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

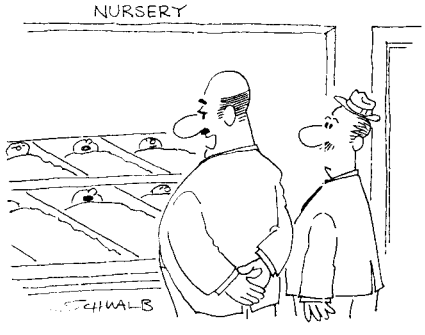
deviation lower. That was true in 1954, when *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was decided, and it's true today. A forty-year national effort to raise black scores produced hardly any change. We tried everything we could think of—everything from preschool- and infant-enrichment programs to affirmative-action quotas at Ivy League colleges—and none of it worked. Black scores have barely budged, and the truth, however unpalatable, is that they aren't going to. The reason is probably partly genetic, but we're no better off if it's entirely environmental. We have no more of a clue about how to fix the one than the other. Intelligence matters, more and more as technology advances, and blacks just have a lot less of it. That handicaps them and us, but we have to face up to it, quit pretending we can change it, and learn to live with it.

That's Charles Murray's picture of black America, a picture of hopeless intellectual stasis, and a lot of white Americans are ready to buy it. Most still won't say it aloud and many will say the opposite, but millions look at black America today and feel discouraged. A lot of them had uncomfortable experiences, in college or at work, with the systematic mismatching of people and places that arbitrary affirmative-action quotas produce, and they are not optimistic. Race relations are tense, progress is hard to see, and stark images of deterioration dominate our TV screens.

Black Americans are discouraged too. Beyond the politics of rage and protest, under the anger, a lot of black Americans feel frightened and defensive. Increasingly, it's not just the black underclass that is isolated. More and more middle-class blacks are opting out of racially mixed neighborhoods, insulating themselves in all-black sanctuaries in the suburbs. They find whites condescending, feel they just can't relax around them and will never really feel respected and at home with them.

Discouragement is pervasive, even among Murray's critics. Nineteen of them had their say in the October 31 *New Republic*. Some damned the tests, some damned Murray; some did both, but none expressed any optimism about the possibility of raising black scores any time soon, or any ideas about what to do next (discounting the usual snake-oil salesmanship about how preschool programs will work like a vaccination, giving all black kids permanent protection against everything but adolescent acne). None of the 14 participants in *National Review*'s December 5 symposium on *The Bell Curve* demonized Murray or dismissed his evidence by pretending that tests don't matter. But they, too, generally found the book and/or its reception deeply troubling.

I am a bull in this bear market, a tough-love optimist about the intellectual potential of American kids, across the board. I think black scores can be raised significantly, and white ones too, in less than a decade. An honest look at the past forty years shows us how to do it. It lets us see which social and educational policies produced solid bottom-line results, which ones were ineffectual, and which ones made things worse. Some really did work, and I think Murray and the silent legions who think none did are mistaken—not bigoted, not politically incorrect, just genuinely and profoundly



"Small world! Perhaps, some day, my son will hire your son."

mistaken. But then, I think most of his critics are too.

My disagreement with Murray is not based on rejection of the solidly established facts about intelligence and its social correlates reviewed in *The Bell Curve*; I've been defending those facts in print for decades. I have no quarrel with Murray's opposition to affirmative-action quotas either; I opposed them from the start, convinced they would do great harm to Americans of all colors. And I certainly have no quarrel with his claim that we've been shortchanging our brightest students: in the 1980s, when egalitarian zealots tried to make achievement grouping unconstitutional, my testimony as an expert witness for the defense (in *NAACP* v. *Georgia*) helped convince the courts to rule against them.

I reject Murray's picture of black America because I see a different one. Where Murray sees forty years of hopeless intellectual stasis, I see significant changes in black test scores, up and down. And where Murray sees an unbroken forty-year national effort to boost black scores, I see three distinct eras, eras in which radically different social and educational movements held sway over black education.

The First Era

The first era lasted from about 1950 to 1964. Equal opportunity was becoming a reality at last, and affirmative action didn't yet exist. The drive to desegregate all of America's schools was the dominant movement in American education then, and since the goal was equal access, not equal results, no one kept close tabs on black test scores. The company that produces the SAT, the Educational Testing Service, didn't begin to provide separate SAT averages for blacks and whites until 1976, so we don't have good data on how college-bound black students scored during this era, and we can't map year-to-year changes with any precision.

We do know there was a great surge in the number of black students who went to college in those years. And we know that those who got in got no special breaks. They got in because they met the same standards white students met. In the 1950s and the early 1960s, there was no other way. American educational standards were high for everybody (SAT scores were half a standard deviation higher than they are now), and increasing numbers of black students met those standards.

In the absence of SAT score data broken down by race, Murray and others assume black scores were the same in this era as they were in the next one. I assume they were higher in this period, just as white ones were. He assumes they were stationary. I assume they were rising. And I know from my own experience that black and white students and teachers were genuinely comfortable with one another at many universities in this era. The kind of self-segregation by race that is the first thing you see when you walk into a college cafeteria now was a rarity then. I and my academic friends and colleagues never worried about being condescending to the blacks among us; we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had nothing to be condescending about. And the blacks we knew were not defensive with us; they had nothing to be defensive about. It's a world many of my younger colleagues today cannot imagine ever existed, but it did, in the same era as the sensational examples of bigoted resistance to desegregation that got all the attention and are the stuff of today's history texts.

The Second Era

THE next era, roughly from the mid 1960s to 1980, was very different. Angered at last by the slow pace of desegregation in parts of the South, and egged on by a change in elite opinion, the U.S. Supreme Court moved away from the equal-opportunity approach, adopting a proportional-representation standard instead and applying it all over the nation. The Court wanted equal results, especially in education, and it wanted them right away. Experts in education, social science, and civil rights told the courts they could have them, but insisted that removing external barriers was not enough. They pointed to a presumed internal barrier, low self-esteem, arguing that high self-esteem is the critical variable for intellectual development—the master key to learning. Black self-esteem was lower, they said, because discrimination damaged it, creating a barrier that had to be overcome before blacks could learn, and expert help was needed to overcome it.

From the beginning, the evidence contradicted this theory at every turn. The self-esteem of black kids was not lower than that of white kids; children's self-esteem was not and is not a mirror of the attitudes of the larger society around them. It is primarily a reflection of the love their parents show them, and it does not rise in integrated schools or fall in homogeneous ones. That's what the evidence shows, but evidence that contradicted the self-esteem theory was ignored by the experts and was not presented in court.

The self-esteem theory of educational development had already been incorporated into the fabric of constitutional law by the Court in *Brown*. But desegregation aside, educational policies did not really change until the late Sixties and the Seventies. In that era, federal judges gave the experts unprecedented power to change American schools to make them conform to the self-esteem theory of how we learn. The changes were profound because, in the experts' eyes, it wasn't just discrimination that damaged self-esteem. High academic and disciplinary standards and consequences for not meeting them were also seen as damaging to self-esteem, no matter how fairly applied, and were trashed with equal ferocity. Social promotion, tolerance of disruptive and violent behavior, and affirmative-action quotas became the order of the day.

The result was that the schools a new generation of black kids got equal access to were very different from the schools of the Fifties and the early Sixties—as different as American schools today are from those in Japan, Hong Kong, and other places where kids have often outscored ours by one and sometimes two standard deviations in recent decades. Black self-esteem, high to begin with, rose in these new American schools; black scores did not. I think they fell sharply, especially in later grades. But without information about black scores on tests like the SAT in the prior era, it is impossible to be certain about the size of the black decline. We do know that although white self-esteem also rose in this era—often to grandiose heights—the scores of white kids fell, so hard and so fast that the absolute number (not just the percentage) of very high-scoring American kids was lower in 1980 than it had been in 1964. Over all, our kids' scores ended up half a standard deviation lower than they were in the first era. Their behavior grew increasingly disruptive and violent, in school and out. The violence in and around mainly or all-black schools in the inner cities increased even more.

The black–white score gap, however, stayed about the same, Murray tells us. But if black scores really hadn't changed, shouldn't that gap have narrowed dramatically in this era? Shouldn't it have been cut roughly in half? The fact that this did not happen tells me that black scores fell too, and that lowering standards hurt all our kids, not just white ones.

The harm done to black kids was even more severe. In a 1991 article in *Commentary*, I likened it to an iatrogenic condition—an illness or deformity caused by treatment. Thalidomide is probably the best-known example, but such illnesses are all too familiar in the clinical world where I cut my professional teeth. In the educational world, they go unrecognized, but they are at least as prevalent and serious there. The great trashing of academic and disciplinary standards in American schools in the 1970s had a thalidomide-like effect on American kids. I argued in *Commentary*, *National Review*, and elsewhere that it made them dumber and more prone to violence, that it made all our kids fail, and made black kids fail spectacularly.

The experts who transformed our schools do not see things that way. Blinded by their own good intentions, they cannot see how bad their medicine was and is. They think we've done nothing but confer benefits on black kids, all these years, to no avail. Not enough "benefits," certainly, but benefits nonetheless—nothing but benefits for forty years.

The Third Era

SOME of the experts who transformed our schools did finally notice, though, that these same benefits were bad for white kids. Elite attitudes began changing in 1983, when President Reagan's Commission on Excellence publicized my analysis from the Fall 1982 *Public Interest* of how far behind our European and Asian competitors our kids' scores had fallen. At that point, many experts began to grasp the fact that lowering standards was harmful, but only for white kids.

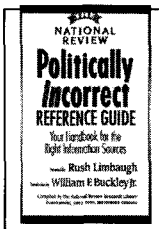
Murray continues to insist that giving self-esteem primacy over standards is good for black kids, and he recommends that we do more of it. So, by and large, do his critics, especially his liberal Democratic critics. Initially, they thought that doing more of that would raise black scores. Few still do. They haven't given up on their methods, however. Like Murray, they gave up on black kids instead. That's why they champion affirmative action, now and forever. They may not say it aloud as Murray does, but they think black Americans have to rely on body counts, permanently, because they'll never be able to make it on brains.

The evidence from the third era, the period from 1980 to the present, shows they are mistaken, and here we do not have to rely on indirect evidence. We have SAT scores for black students alone from 1976 on, and the pattern is clear: black scores began to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

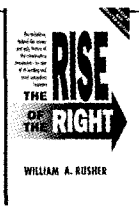
The Conservative Gift Shop

The National Review Bookstore



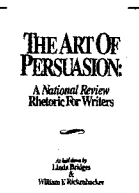
THE *NATIONAL REVIEW* POLITICALLY INCORRECT REFERENCE GUIDE

Your handbook for the right information sources (over 10,000 conservative books, articles, and groups listed under 200-plus topics). A *must* for students. $19.95/softcover.



THE RISE OF THE RIGHT

Revised and updated. Former *NR* Publisher Bill Rusher's definitive, eyewitness history of modern American conservatism. A front-row seat at the development of a political phenomenon! $14.95/softcover.



THE ART OF PERSUASION

Grab, surprise, please, amuse, and persuade your readers! *NR*'s Linda Bridges's and Bill Rickenbacker's how-to guide for writing with clarity and style will take you to the outer limits of English prose! $19.95/hardcover.

WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?

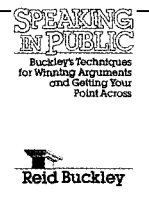
Tender, poignant, warm, and funny, the collected work of the late Aloïse Buckley Heath makes a wonderful gift. Trenchant social commentary, along with hilarious vignettes of *real* family values. $16.95/hardcover.

WINDFALL

Critics have praised this moving account of WFB's 1990 Atlantic voyage as his best sailing book ever, because it's about more than just sailing (it's about *life*). Filled with beautiful full-color photographs. Personally autographed. $25.00/hardcover.

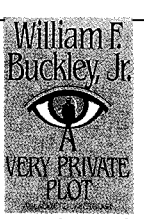
THE RIGHT DATA

The acclaimed collection of Ed Rubenstein's popular "Right Data" columns, plus *NR*'s famous "Real Reagan Record," *and* hundreds of charts and graphs on dozens of economic topics. *The* liberal economic myth debunking kit. $14.95/softcover.



SPEAKING IN PUBLIC

Let Reid Buckley (WFB's brother and head of the Buckley School of Public Speaking) untie your tongue! This handbook will have you discombobulating the opposition with all your powers of persuasion! $17.95/hardcover.

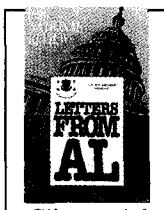


A VERY PRIVATE PLOT

The latest and last (and the best!) of WFB's Blackford Oakes novels. This gripping, fast-paced spy thriller takes readers on travels unrivaled in cold war fiction. Personally autographed by WFB! $25.00/hardcover.

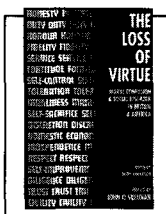
NATIONAL REVIEW PREMIER ISSUE

This special keepsake is an artful remembrance of the magazine that launched the modern conservative movement. A commemorative reprise of the original November 19, 1955, first issue of the publication that "stands athwart history, yelling Stop!" A must-have for every conservative! Available editions: Paper ($12.95), Hardcover ($24.95), and Classic – gold-stamped, handbound leather, autographed by WFB ($49.95).



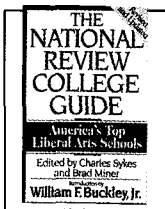
LETTERS FROM AL

The collection of *NR*'s side–splitting "Letter from Al" columns–where Veep Al Gore regularly writes old friend "Rusty" about life in the Clinton Administration. Too often too true to real events. Makes a great gift for any occasion. $5.95/softcover



THE LOSS OF VIRTUE

The heralded analysis of how liberals have undermined society by discrediting the core virtues, such as Tolerance, Civility, Honor, and Fortitude. With a Preface by John O'Sullivan. $19.95/hardcover.


THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE
America's Top Liberal Arts Schools
Edited by Charles Sykes and Brad Miner
Introduction by William F. Buckley, Jr.

THE *NATIONAL REVIEW* COLLEGE GUIDE

Revised edition with introduction by WFB. *National Review* profiles the 58 top liberal-arts schools which still offer a traditional education in the 90's Gulag of political correctness and multiculturalism. $13.00/softcover.

NATIONAL REVIEW
150 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

Please send me the books I've checked below.

No. of copies	*Book*	*Price*	*Total*
____	THE *NATIONAL REVIEW* POLITICALLY INCORRECT REFERENCE GUIDE	$19.95	____
____	THE RISE OF THE RIGHT	$14.95	____
____	THE ART OF PERSUASION	$19.95	____
____	WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?	$16.95	____
____	WINDFALL	$25.00	____
	NATIONAL REVIEW PREMIER ISSUE		
____	*(classic)*	$49.95	____
____	*(hardcover)*	$24.95	____
____	*(paper)*	$12.95	____
____	SPEAKING IN PUBLIC	$17.95	____
____	A VERY PRIVATE PLOT	$25.00	____
____	THE RIGHT DATA	$14.95	____
____	LETTERS FROM AL	$ 5.95	____
____	THE LOSS OF VIRTUE	$19.95	____
____	THE *NATIONAL REVIEW* COLLEGE GUIDE	$13.00	____
Shipping and handling		$3.00	
Add applicable state tax for delivery in NY $			____
Total enclosed $			____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make checks payable to *National Review*.
Foreign orders add $4.00 US for every book ordered. 3695

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rise in 1980 and continued to rise throughout the decade, ending up a quarter of a standard deviation higher. Black scores on formal IQ tests rose too, by about a fifth of a standard deviation.

These positive changes perplex the experts because they do not coincide with any new initiatives in the black community by our recognized social engineers, the elite change agents who were so prominent and so hyperactive in the second era. These changes came after the experts and engineers had largely given up on black kids, and the experts have no ready explanation for them. Like Murray, most policy mavens mention them only in passing, if at all, downplaying or dismissing them. But changes of this magnitude are significant by every statistical standard in common use today. And it didn't take forty years to achieve them, or even fourteen. It happened in less than a decade.

Why did black kids who failed to make any progress in the second era suddenly surge forward in the third? The rise in black test scores in the Eighties was a result of a grass-roots protest movement that had a major impact on the schools poor kids went to in that decade. It was called the Minimum Competence Testing Movement, and its banner was literacy and numeracy as a minimum standard for high-school graduation.

Liberals and experts condemned this movement as a cruel, stupid assault on student self-esteem, certain to have especially devastating effects on black kids. The ordinary Americans who championed it—parents, mostly, black and white—ignored the experts for once. Appalled by the number of illiterate high-school graduates, they insisted that no more of their kids be allowed to graduate without passing a simple test of reading and arithmetic.

The experts argued, unsuccessfully, that this requirement was unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment, calling it an unfair burden on black kids that would perpetuate the results of past discrimination. My 1983 testimony in *Debra P.* v. *Turlington* convinced the courts that, far from being a burden, academic standards and sanctions for enforcing them were benefits, essential precisely to get rid of the effects of past discrimination. On that basis, U.S. District Court Judge George C. Carr let the requirement stand, and the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit upheld his ruling.

Florida, site of the test case, was one of many states to adopt a minimum-competence requirement. Here are the results, the results that Murray and so many other experts ignore. On the first few tries, 80 to 90 per cent of Florida's black high-school students failed, but the state gave them five in-school chances to pass, and on the fifth try, more than 90 per cent did. The same thing happened across the country—the movement had spread with the speed of a prairie fire. And everywhere, black scores rose, not just on simple tests, but on advanced ones like the SAT. The gap between black and white students began to narrow at last, even in the face of all the social and familial devastation caused by the crack epidemic of the 1980s.

Uneven Recovery

WHITE students, too, have finally recovered some of the intellectual ground they lost in the second era, but only on the math section of the SAT, not in verbal reasoning ability. Girls have lost much ground in the verbal section particularly. And lately, it looks as if all our kids' scores have stopped rising and are beginning to plateau again, stuck on a ledge that is still too low. The grass-roots reform fires seem burnt out. And while there is a lot of political talk about raising standards, there is little understanding of what made the minimum-competence standard work: the willingness to back it up with powerful sanctions. Kids knew that they could not graduate without it.

Most politicians and a lot of other Americans don't accept that lesson yet. They are for raising standards, of course—everybody is today—but they also want to maximize self-esteem. The experts may have invented the self-esteem-über-alles rationale out of whole cloth—the facts may contradict it, and its effects may have been devastating—but millions of Americans embraced it. In many places today, self-esteem ideology is like a secular religion, an ersatz doctrine of salvation that people cling to, afraid to let go.

Yet to raise academic and disciplinary standards, you have to give them primacy over self-esteem. You can't keep saying "wonderful, wonderful" to all the kids all the time, as long as they stay in school, whether they are working or not. You have to be willing to tell kids, "That's not good enough." You have to be willing to let them fail, many times, and you have to teach them that, however much failure may temporarily deflate their self-esteem, it's not the end of the world. It just means they have to get back up, try again harder, and keep on trying until they get it right, just as they did when they learned to ride a two-wheeler bike or shoot a basket. Shielding kids from failure shields them from growth. Our job is to teach kids how to deal with failure and, ultimately, to triumph over it. When enough of us are ready to accept that lesson and act on it, the evidence shows that all our kids can and will do better.

For years my plea has been to make minimum competence—basic literacy and numeracy—the standard for *grade-school* graduation. Then we could set an appropriate standard for high-school graduation—a minimum score on an SAT-like test, showing that our graduates have taken the next giant intellectual step after literacy and numeracy: learning to solve problems by reasoning abstractly with words and numbers. I'm convinced that if we did that, quickly, without waiting for a resolution of the curriculum wars that will occupy us for at least the next decade, black kids would surge ahead again, as they did in the Eighties. And this time, the new standards would be high enough to lift many white kids' scores too, high enough to lift our national bell curve. It has happened before, many times in many places, in the years since World War II, and there is no reason we can't make it happen here, now.

Many Americans of good will would like me to end now by saying that all this proves that there are no genetic differences in intelligence between races. I'd like to say that too, but I can't, because there may be. Asian kids may have a genetic edge over white kids; I'm not sure. No honest scientist can be. I am sure that the gap doesn't have to be anywhere near as wide as it has been in recent decades, and I'm sure that's true for black kids too. If we move decisively to throw out failed social and educational policies and implement successful ones, who knows how far any of our kids can go? We can't know; we can only give them all the chance to find out. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

February 13, 1995

Dear Rusty,

Guess what? We had our first strategy meeting for the '96 Campaign yesterday—and they elected me recording secretary!

I've just finished typing up the minutes. What do you think?

The meeting was called to order at 4 PM. Mr. Coehlo issued a stern remonstrance to the Working Group that "a meeting called for 1:30 should begin at 1:30." Secretary Ron Brown asked what Mr. Coehlo was doing at the meeting in the first place. Mrs. William J. Clinton, also present, murmured something that the recording secretary couldn't catch, then finished with a distinctly audible "returning to the scene of the crime, I'd say." At which point Mr. Coehlo departed from the meeting.

Secretary Brown opened the floor for nominations for "President and CEO of the Working Group." Mrs. William J. Clinton nominated herself. Mrs. William J. Clinton seconded the nomination. Secretary Brown nominated himself. Secretary Brown seconded the nomination, and then proceeded to call for votes.

Mr. David Wilhelm suggested postponing the election. Mr. McLarty said that would be a wise move, but suggested the American people wouldn't "swallow it." Mr. Wilhelm then said that what he meant was to postpone the election of the Working Group President and CEO, not the presidential election of 1996. Mr. McLarty thanked Mr. Wilhelm for the clarification, but followed by asking, since the subject had been raised, what the group thought the possibilities were that the '96 election might be postponed: "We're always late with everything anyway," he said. "Won't people be willing to give us an extension?"

Mr. Stephanopolous remarked that when he was in college, it was his experience that after being granted an extension, the professor invariably graded harder.

Mr. Dan Rather finished his beer, and began assessing Bob Dole's weaknesses as a candidate. Mr. Rather cited Dole's meanness, his caustic wit, his age, and his close voter identification with the Republican party. Secretary Brown responded by reminding the Working Group that Ronald Reagan was older than Bob Dole, and that being identified with the Republican party is not, at this time, an impediment. Mr. Rather responded hotly, "Whose side are you on, anyway?" and popped open another beer.

Secretary Brown interrupted the meeting briefly to give a deposition.

Mrs. William J. Clinton began sobbing loudly. She was comforted with a hug from Miss Barbra Streisand.

Miss Streisand suggested a five-step strategy of policy initiatives. First, rapidly increase spending on social welfare programs; second, base all foreign policy decisions entirely on human rights concerns, except in Bosnia; third, immediately recruit an all-gay Joint Chiefs of Staff; fourth, add a wing to the Holocaust Museum devoted to "The Reagan Eighties"; and lastly, change the racial designation "white" to "non-African American."

Mrs. William J. Clinton asked to be excused.

Mr. Stan Greenberg presented the latest polling data. In a three-way race against Bob Dole and Colin Powell, the President comes in fourth, after Lyndon LaRouche. Among likely male voters between eighteen and forty-five, the President beats Mr. LaRouche soundly, but loses to Ron Paul, the likely Libertarian Party candidate. Among his perceived positive attributes, the voting public sees him as a good father and a man unlikely to slay his wife and her presumed boyfriend outside her home in Brentwood, California. Among his negatives, the voting public sees him as "a shiftless opportunist, untrustworthy and incompetent." Mr. Greenberg then suggested a strategy of "building on the positives."

Mr. Leon Panetta suggested that in the future, Miss Elizabeth Drew, Mr. Bob Woodward, and the documentary film crew not be included in strategy sessions of this nature. Miss Drew left quickly afterward.

Mrs. William J. Clinton returned to the meeting, and thanked all the participants. She asked Mr. Rather for his thoughts on the possibility of an afternoon talk show called "Hillary Talks!" for the '97-'98 season.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:45 PM. Mr. Stephanopolous began folding up chairs. Mr. Begala and Mr. Carville attempted to call the participants back, shouting down the hallway "Wait! Wait! We've got some more ideas!" but the participants were clearly out of earshot.

Mr. Stephanopolous reminded Mr. Begala and Mr. Carville to turn out the lights when they leave.

Respectfully submitted,

Your pal, Al

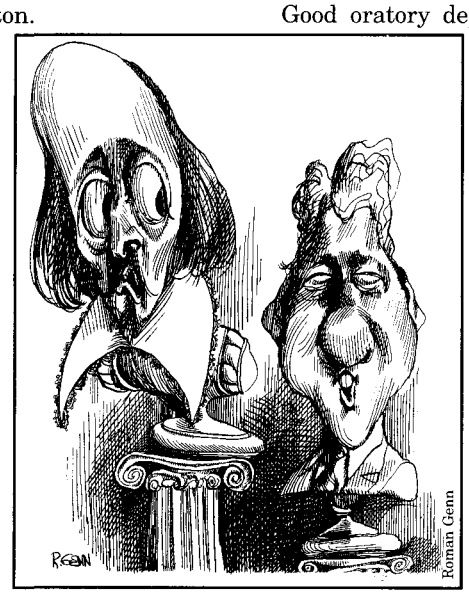
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sit Down Please, Mr. President

TRACY LEE SIMMONS

ALL AGLOW IN January 1961 after President John F. Kennedy's inauguration, the editors of the *The New Yorker* rhapsodized about the success of his inaugural address. Perhaps Mr. Kennedy's political prowess and eloquence, they speculated, would "revive a taste for good oratory—a taste that has been alternately frustrated by inarticulateness and dulled by bombast." They found it "hard to believe that an Athenian or Roman citizen could have listened to it unmoved, or that Cicero, however jealous of his own reputation, would have found reason to object to it." Leaving aside the absurdly effusive praise, we may also say that those same devout citizens would look askance at the quality of utterance emitted by the current crop of politicians, and especially at that of Kennedy's self-proclaimed political offspring, Bill Clinton.

The political speech has seen better days. The editors' invocation of Greek and Roman ideals would have been approved by the Founding Fathers, who themselves looked to the ancient past for blueprints for the building and preservation of republics. They also harkened to those republican traditions whenever they rose to speak; to be a statesman was to be an orator, a meticulously trained master of words and logic. A speech was an occasion for clarifying ideas, not merely one for emotive manipulation. Patrick Henry's ringing phrase "Give me liberty or give me death" was intended to be incendiary, but there's a solid thought behind those words that has been whittled down to its essence. And the artful matching of liberty and death—one a soaring abstraction, the other an irreducible fact—sings to high- and lowbrows alike. It also carries the advantage of being memorable.



President Clinton's recent State of the Union address was a memorable event, in its way. Despite Mr. Clinton's rhetoric of fairness and compassion, his oratory that night left many of us praying for mercy. Fairness dictated a seventh-inning stretch. Or compassion a halftime break. About the time other Presidents would be summing up, well into the talk, he was just hitting his stride with "Let me begin by saying . . ." No doubt some even longed for candies and popcorn cartons to come dancing across the screen to signal an intermission. The White House had estimated the speech would take 35 to 40 minutes; it took 82 minutes, a sizable miscalculation in TV time. But Clinton's oratory suffers from a far deeper ill than prolixity. Namely, it hardly qualifies as oratory at all. Not only do many of his speeches lack elegance and memorability; at times, they are barely literate.

From the President of the United States in 1995 have come such august statements as these: "You know, for years before I became President, I heard others say they would cut government and how bad it was." And "We're working on getting rid of unnecessary regulations and making them more sensible," a sentence logically self-defeating. Just what is he getting at when he says "Our young people hold our future in their hands"? Or "We have cut yesterday's government to help solve tomorrow's problems," when today's problems are the issue? And does a reference to David Letterman really belong in so formal an address as the State of the Union?

Good oratory depends on several virtues, few of which Clinton practices: concentration of phrase, clarity of purpose, force, gravity. Franklin Roosevelt's assertion that "we have nothing to fear but fear itself" has endured to the word. Sir Winston Churchill, a master of the steel sentence, saluted the RAF in 1940 by saying that "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." Such sentences and phrases live lives of their own and continue to inspire not only by their content but by their beauty; their beauty, in fact, has ensured their survival. Worthy content never suffices of itself to produce memorable oratory. There must be grace.

Today our political culture is distinguished by a marked heedlessness to both graceful composition and to oratorical technique. This isn't true of President Clinton alone. C-SPAN, with its gavel-to-gavel coverage of the goings-on in the U.S. House and Senate, is the worst thing that ever happened to most congressmen, who now can broadcast their banalities to largely empty legislative floors from coast to coast, brandishing clichés like "Read my lips" and "They just don't get it," and their many rings on the theme of Change, in gift-wrapped sound bites for what they assume to be the easily swayed masses back home. One waits a long time for a speaker who declaims as though he might have had a modicum of training in public speaking; and when an able one rises to the lectern, his delivery would appear more suitably practiced on a used-car lot.

What has brought about this decline in political oratory? One answer is that formal speaking is less prized in a more informal world. In an age of talk shows and amateur therapists, we have some amorphous belief that the "inner" person is the more real, while the formal, outer person must be shunned as inauthentic. Another answer is that we no

Mr. Simmons is an NR *editorial associate.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

longer live in a verbal culture; our perceptions are formed not by words but by images. This idea has a patina of sociological insight; but to the extent it is true, it bodes ill for the future of democratic institutions that Jefferson believed depended upon the informed discretion of an educated electorate. The most plausible answer of all may be that we have become jaded and cynical; after Watergate, any language raised above chatter is *ipso facto* suspected of being exploitative and false. Thus we see the damage we have done to rhetorical ideals by our purely defamatory charge that someone's words are "mere rhetoric." But if informal comments reveal the speaker's deeper self, formal ones may reveal not only the quality of his thinking but something of his attitude towards his audience and its intelligence.

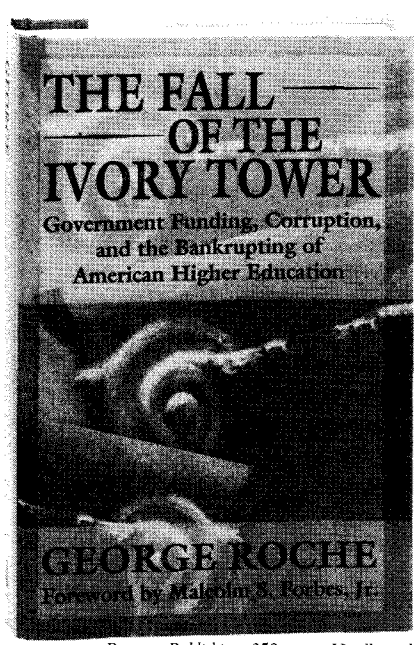
President Clinton exemplifies this new, less edifying, periodically inept speechifying. But that is mainly because of his visibility, which he does everything to enhance, making his lapses all the more regrettable. His rhetoric reflects the vagueness of his policies and his desire not so much to persuade as to please; often, he doesn't exhort, he grovels. Of all the things he has learned from his hero, John F. Kennedy, eloquence—perhaps the only asset that Kennedy possessed, and that often borrowed from others—is not one of them. President Clinton's inaugural address may be the feeblest ever. He strove to achieve a few parallels to Kennedy's own masterly address. But comparing passages is painfully telling.

JFK: "We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom, symbolizing an end as well as a beginning, signifying renewal as well as change." Students of rhetoric--if any are left—will recognize the elements of oratory: antithesis, parallel structure, conciliatory sentiment.

Clinton: "My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal." This says something, but what? One of the glories of our constitutional system is that there's nothing mysterious about the transfer of power. Kennedy said it better and with greater clarity; an inauguration both symbolizes and signifies transition. After thanking President Bush for his half-century of service, a magnanimous gesture, Clinton says, with questionable propriety, "And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and Communism"—as we await a colossal "You're Welcome!" from around the globe. Clinton has a predilection for the ingratiating, maudlin, and trite that, unchecked, becomes patronizing. It's not enough that he "feels our pain"; he makes sure we feel him feeling it.

Last summer during a European trip Mr. Clinton couldn't miss the opportunity to make a stop in Berlin to deliver, before what he hoped to be adoring throngs, a sequel to Kennedy's famous speech in which he proclaimed "*Ich bin ein Berliner*." Perhaps using better German than English in that speech, Clinton declared, "*Nichts wird uns aufhalten; alles ist möglich; Berlin ist frei*." ("Nothing will stop us; all is possible; Berlin is free.") Nonetheless, it's a bit bulky for the aphoristic quotability he was going for. (Have you quoted it lately?)

If Bill Clinton is truly the political progeny of JFK, clearly the gene pool has thinned somewhat in thirty years. It's not that his sentiments are poor—they're not—but that they're

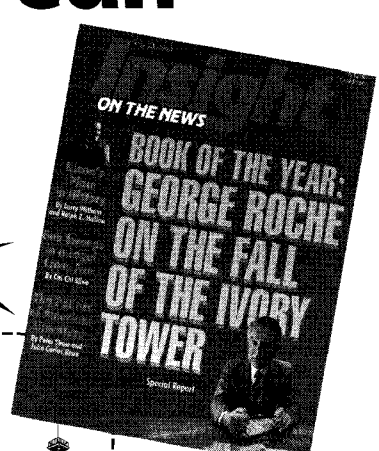


Regnery Publishing 259 pages Hardbound

This may be the *scariest* book you read this year.

And it's not about crime, drugs, or AIDS. It's about higher education.

FREE SHIPPING



ORDER TODAY BY MAIL OR CALL 1-800-437-2268
ORDER TODAY AND PAY ONLY $20. (Regularly $24.)
MI residents add 6% sales tax.

Name ☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Ms. ☐ Miss

Address

City/State/Zip ☐ Home ☐ Office

Order direct from Hillsdale College and save! Purchasers will also receive a free subscription to the monthly speech digest, *Imprimis*.

Mail book orders to:
The Hillsdale College Press
Hillsdale College
Hillsdale, MI 49242

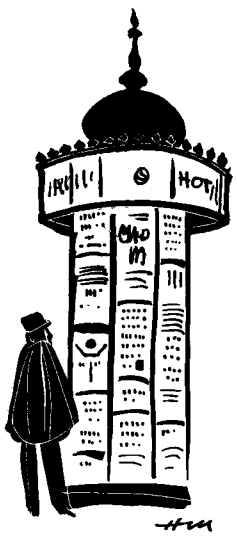
HILLSDALE COLLEGE

***The Fall of the Ivory Tower* is featured as "Book of the Year" in an *Insight* magazine special report.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just not put very well. His speeches don't surge; they stagger with a smile and rely far too heavily on otherwise noble ideals that have lost their polish without fresh wordsmithing. Precision also suffers. Some of his prepared remarks wouldn't even make the grade as decent college writing. This may seem ripe matter for humor, until we are soberly reminded that a great deal can hang on a President's words.

From Mr. Clinton's point of view, the insipidity of his speeches is doubly unfortunate because actually he is not a bad speaker. Despite a tendency to whine, he does know how to deliver a line. While he could never measure up to Reagan, our greatest orator-President since JFK, he consistently beat Bush on the stump for histrionic ability. And for looking presidential, he's best in his more direct, usually brief televised Oval Office talks where he peers steadily into the camera, unsmiling. Those speeches are also written more simply, thus with more punch. It's when he expands, going for the grand moment, that he gets into trouble.



In last year's State of the Union address, Mr. Clinton set off through a minefield of gaffes. In extolling our capacity for change, he said, "Our American heritage has always been to master such change," an awkward set of words if you look closely. He spoke of the need to "revolutionize" the welfare system that "defies our values as a nation"; was "defy" really the word sought? When he asserted that "our support of reform must combine patience for the enormity of the task," one wonders whether anyone at the White House had looked up the word "enormity." When he recommended crime legislation that "encourages retiring military personnel to move into police forces, an inordinate resource for our country," we're left with an uneasy sense that "inordinate" also may not be quite the thing meant. Or when he avowed that we must "stop the violence that explodes our emergency rooms," the image may strike us as a bit—well—inordinate. Or take this almost indecipherable excerpt:

> We can't renew our country unless more of us—I mean all of us—are willing to join the churches and the other good citizens—people like the black ministers I've worked with over the years, or the priests and the nuns I met at Our Lady of Help in East Los Angeles, or my good friend, Tony Campollo in Philadelphia—unless we're willing to work with people like that, people who are saving kids, adopting schools, making streets safer—all of us can do that.

This sentence, with the best of intentions, long on feeling yet short on thought, simply crumbles in his hands. How could it have survived the painstaking process of writing and rewriting from which we assume any such address must emerge? Imagine FDR sloshing through it.

Mr. Clinton's technique has not improved since then. Late last year when he took to the air waves to announce his "middle class bill of rights," he spoke of those who take undue advantage by abusing welfare and "flaunting our immigration laws." While flaunting laws is not among the commonest of human activities, flouting them is.

On the eve of the President's journey to Normandy last year to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day, some wondered whether he would be up to the solemnity of the occasion, given his own service record. He fared well that day. But even his better moments were marred by misbegotten verbiage. At the U.S. National Cemetery above Omaha Beach, Mr. Clinton referred to the dead as "the fathers we never knew, the uncles we never met, the friends who never returned, the heroes we can never repay. They gave us our world." This is fine and apt. But then he overshot his target by following with, "And those simple sounds of freedom we hear today are their voices speaking to us across the years." What? What are these "sounds of freedom"? How are these sounds their "voices"? This is a strain for poetic effect without the poetry. Addressing the survivors of the assault at Pointe du Hoc earlier that day, the President proudly proclaimed, "Here are the generations for whom you won a war. We are the children of your sacrifice." A schoolmarm might say that this last sentence, given the occasion, suffers from faulty emphasis. Let's just say that while it may sound commendable, even profound, its main effect is to burden a gesture of homage with an ungainly image.

Such slippery usage reflects a diminished sensitivity to the English language. Once again, though, this is not an insensitivity unique to Mr. Clinton and the current political establishment. Those who actually noticed these fouls probably did not flood the White House with letters of protest. Is this because no one was listening? Could it be that the static around us prevents our rational and aesthetic antennae from picking up the sloppy thought or the clumsy locution? Or could it be that those who noticed also saw the futility of pointing out such blunders in a time when the language is beset by flagrant neglect by nearly everyone?

Somehow our public officials must get beyond the condescending notion that eloquence cannot sell. They need to ponder Edward R. Murrow's praise of Churchill: "He mobilized the English language and sent it into battle." We need a few politicians who are statesmen and orators again; who know that language is not just a sign but a sword; who know that, rather than pursue the catchy slogan, they had better equip themselves with the well-wrought phrase that is also fresh and vital; who respect the intelligence of their audience, realizing that those who can appreciate such things will think more of them and the rest won't know the difference. We need those who can thrust a poetic stab once in a while because they have a little poetry in their souls. If we cannot elect men and women of this caliber, let those whom we elect at least keep the pen out of the hands of policy wonks, and hire real speechwriters with ears for the cadences of language.

The age of the quotable statesman may be over. If so, it has taken something of value with it. Once, even when we loathed a politician, we could at least find what he said pleasing to the ear if not to the mind. Not today. Murky impressions have clouded thought, soft words have replaced sturdy words, and much of the frolic and high drama of the political stage has been lost. For now we can make do with the piquant—and quotable—words of Forrest Gump: "Stupid is as stupid does." One way or another, the muses will be avenged. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Four Wars and a Crisis

DONALD LYONS

THIS BOOK, by the Bass Professor of History, Classics, and Western Civilization at Yale, is history by a master classical historian whose multivolume study of the Pelo-

On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace, by Donald Kagan (Doubleday, 606 pp., $30)

ponnesian War is justly celebrated. More urgently, it is a call to strategic alertness in 1995. Mr. Kagan writes very much in the spirit of his admired Thucydides, who wanted to be "judged useful by those who want to understand clearly the events which happened in the past and which (human nature being what it is) will, at some time or other and in much the same ways, be repeated in the future." He looks at five incidents in Western history. Two are ancient: the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta in the fifth century B.C. and the Second Punic War between Carthage and Rome in the third century B.C.; two are modern: World War I and World War II. The fifth subject is the Cuban Missile Crisis, the hottest moment of the Cold War.

Mr. Lyons, a former classicist, is theater critic for the Wall Street Journal.

"Peace," insists this book again and again, "does not keep itself," but must be maintained both by substantial forces in being and a credited willingness to use them. Take the Peloponnesian War, which broke out in a bipolar world like that of the Cold War. Sea-power Athens and its empire were in uneasy equipoise with land-power Sparta and its allies. Does in fact bipolarity itself cause wars? Mr. Kagan does not think so. Boldly—for a classicist—he rejects the deterministic and pessimistic analysis of Thucydides, who thought that the restless expansionism of the Athenian empire was the root cause of the conflict. On the contrary, says Mr. Kagan, "the two great hegemonal states and their alliances had come to terms and could live side by side in peace indefinitely, so that it was not the underlying cause but the immediate crisis that produced the war." That crisis consisted of some provocative mischief-making by Sparta's satellite Corinth, plus a moderate reaction thereto by the Athenian leader Pericles. Our author faults this very moderateness (a ten-ship show of force) and suggests Athens should have deployed "a clearer and larger commitment . . . an armada." The halfway response alarmed Sparta, which, emboldened by the Athenian lack of an army, opted for a war that wrecked Greek civilization's finest hour.

Turning to World War I, Mr. Kagan rejects the notion that the prewar system of counterbalancing alliances *in itself* caused war. Instead, he unequivocally fingers Germany: "Wilhelmine Germany was not just another European nation seeking to maintain its national interest. . . . From the 1890s imperial Germany was a fundamentally dissatisfied power, eager to disrupt the

The Gay Agenda

The explicit and nationally talked-about videotape of the homosexual movement's **political agenda.** A powerful and shocking report with real-life footage that exposes the myths and lies being disseminated by a cooperative media. This is the videotape that sent shockwaves through the U.S. Congress and Pentagon in Washington, DC.

And now **The Gay Agenda in Public Education** and **The Gay Agenda / March on Washington.** (All videotapes in color.)

ACCURACY IN MEDIA
4455 Conn. Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20008

YES, please send me:

___ **The Gay Agenda: The Political Agenda**
(20 mins) @ $9.95 ea.....$_____

___ **The Gay Agenda in Public Education**
(35 mins) @ $13.95 ea.....$_____

___ **The Gay Agenda/March on Washington**
(13 mins) @ $9.95 ea.....$_____

Shipping charges: $4.00 for first tape.
$1.25 for each additional tape.

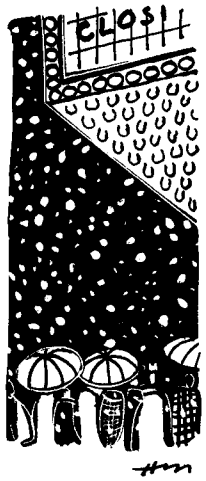
☐ Check enclosed for $_____
☐ Charge my VISA / MC / AmEx:
#_____ Exp._____

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State, Zip_____

Credit card orders: 1-800-787-0044 NR2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

status quo and to achieve its expansive goals, by bullying if possible, by war if necessary." The problem was to rein in Germany without war. England was the key: her coordination in prewar years with France was never made into a "formal and open military alliance." But even such an alliance would not have done the trick: "The only sure deterrent of any German leader who was not insane was the certainty of the presence on the Western front, soon after the outbreak of war, of an army large enough to make a quick victory impossible, an army of such a size as the British ultimately put into the field too late to deter war but just in time to avoid defeat."



That would have meant, for the England of the 1900s and 1910s, a big permanent army, which would have meant conscription—an unimaginable policy for the reformist Liberal governments of the day. Again, Mr. Kagan's perfect-in-hindsight recipe of a large standing army—as impossible for England politically as it had been for Athens demographically—seems almost too easy. As well say England should have developed an atomic bomb in 1913.

Hannibal's War, which comes next in the book, makes a sort of bookend with World War II, as did the Peloponnesian War with World War I. Carthage, like Germany, had lost a war and was sullen and vengeful. Hannibal initiated military probes in contested Spain; the Roman response, consisting of "half measures and inaction," only emboldened the audacious Carthaginian general, and, next thing you know, elephants were crossing the Alps. Professor Kagan's belated advice: "Placing a Roman army north of the Ebro and keeping it there as a limit to Punic expansion and a barrier to Punic ambition. That would have been an unpleasant and costly novelty, but it stood a good chance of preventing war and an even better chance of confining it to Spain, if it broke out."

Professor Kagan sees early, massive, and credible military presence as *the* key to keep crises from escalating into war. It is unsurprising that he thinks World War II should have been aborted in the 1920s, when even "reasonable" German nationalism under Weimar was already seeking Versailles revisions "at the expense of the new nations of Eastern Europe." At least, Germany should have been kept disarmed for good. By the 1930s the weakness of Anglo-French strategy had been codified in the policy of appeasement, which at once ceded to Germany (now ruled by an unapologetically expansionist madman) fresh territory abroad and refused to rearm at home. On the one side, Hitler merely despised those who had supinely watched him remilitarize the Rhineland, destroy Czechoslovakia, and annex Austria. On the other, Chamberlain used "the very weakness he had helped create" at home as an excuse for timidity abroad. The whole stupid and sordid tale still has power to anger, and it is undoubtedly the neatest illustration of Mr. Kagan's thesis.

It is in this book a nice surprise that an ancient historian should be at his most original and gripping in recounting the most recent story. If the truth be told, all four examples yet discussed have been related with greater power and vividness elsewhere; Mr. Kagan is not a particularly gifted narrator. Except when he comes to tell of the war that never started. So startling is his chapter on the 1962 Missile Crisis that it deserves to be printed as a self-standing pamphlet about the strategic policies of Camelot.

Taking into account newly declassified U.S. and Russian documents, recent conferences, and oral recollections (as well as the just-revealed secret tape recordings made by John F. Kennedy of his strategy sessions), the author paints a devastating picture. From the start of his Presidency, JFK displayed a callow weakness: authorizing the Bay of Pigs, he dithered about air cover out of fear that the Soviets would make trouble in Berlin. (As Eisenhower subsequently tried to explain to him, it worked just the opposite: the Soviets were emboldened by our show of weakness.) Then came the 1961 Summit at Vienna, at which JFK, bullied by Khrushchev, spoke self-deprecatingly of his domestic political weakness and of his predecessor's flawed policies. Now convinced he was facing a weakling, Khrushchev put up the Berlin Wall in August. Remarking that "a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war," Kennedy did essentially nothing. Kagan cites comparisons *drawn at the time* to the Rhineland and the Anschluss.

Sure now that the U.S. "would accept peacefully the change in the power balance," Khrushchev made the decision in mid 1962 to put forty intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Cuba. And there is good evidence to show that Kennedy would indeed have accepted them, had he not earlier that year publicly committed the U.S. to oppose them. And this public commitment was made, said McGeorge Bundy, "because of the requirements of domestic politics, not because we seriously believed that the Soviets would do anything as crazy from our standpoint as placement of Soviet nuclear weapons in Cuba." Theodore Sorensen makes it even clearer: "If we had known that the Soviets were putting forty missiles into Cuba, we might under this hypothesis have drawn the line at one hundred, and said with great fanfare that we would absolutely not tolerate the presence of more than one hundred missiles in Cuba. I say that [as] one believing very strongly that that would have been an act of *prudence*, not weakness."

Khrushchev was, then, certainly a rash, intruding fool, but there were grounds for his foolishness. He knew his JFK. What he did not know was the United States, the political system of which forced the unwilling President to act. Fearing impeachment if he did nothing, he decided on the least bellicose response, a blockade. And, very early in the crisis, JFK caused to be signaled to the Kremlin his offer of a *quid pro quo* for the withdrawal of the Cuban missiles: he would promise not to invade Cuba and to remove NATO missiles from, at least, Turkey. Not that JFK and his pet doves (RFK, McNamara) ever had any intention of invading Cuba, even if the blockade had failed. In fact JFK was also hinting to Khrushchev that he (JFK) was in danger of being toppled by the military if the missiles did not leave Cuba; JFK was pleading to be rescued.

For all his dim view of the Kennedy Administration, Mr. Kagan is willing to grant that *during the crisis* the President's "very great caution may well seem justified." But he is clear-eyed in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his assessment that the crisis came because "the more powerful state . . . had a leader who failed to convince his opponent of his will to use its power."

Peace, then, is paradoxically to be preserved by power, deployed early and convincingly. Mr. Kagan begins and ends this superb and tonic book by warning, in general terms, that the U.S. today is in the situation of the Allies after World War II, hungry to relax and turn eyes homeward now that the war to end wars has been won. The analogy has some obvious validity, but it is inadequate in the face of the chaotic, violent, sectarian, and fissiparous world we face. What is indisputable (and hauntingly familiar) is the total want of strategic sense in the present U.S. Administration. We are slashing defense; we are undermining NATO by dithering on Bosnia and by keeping out democratic Eastern Europe; we are mishandling Russia (paging Strobe Talbott); we are trivializing our armed forces into colonial constabularies (Somalia, Haiti); we are kowtowing to a rogue nuclear power (paging Jimmy Carter). The ship is adrift. How long will our luck last? □

An Improbable Monster

JAMES BOWMAN

IN BRITAIN, William Trevor's 13th novel and 21st book of fiction won the *Sunday Express* "Book of the Year" award and the Whitbread Prize. Now published in the U.S.,

Felicia's Journey, by William Trevor (Viking, 213 pp., $21.95)

Felicia's Journey should be taken as stating a most persuasive case on behalf of its 67-year-old Irish author, who has long lived in England but continues to write about both his native and his adoptive countries, as one of the two or three best living writers of fiction in English. If you haven't read him yet, you should read him now.

The Felicia of the tale is an Irish girl of 18 who lives with her father and three brothers. She shares a room with and looks after a centenarian great-grandmother widowed in the Easter rising of 1916. Unemployed and not remarkably bright or pretty, she is seduced by a young man called Johnny Lysaght who soon after goes off to England without leaving an address. Her Irish patriot father thinks he has joined the British army, but she believes his story that he works in a lawnmower factory in the Midlands. Learning she is pregnant, she leaves home to seek him there without telling anyone. Mr. Hilditch, the fat, middle-aged bachelor who is the catering manager in the first factory she tries, offers to help her, and it soon emerges that Felicia has more to worry about than being seduced and abandoned.

That Hilditch is an improbable monster emerges only very gradually during the course of this improbable thriller. For the most part his twisted psychopathology is invisible, and, absent the Grand Guignol accoutrements of the Hollywood serial killer, he becomes a study in the banality of evil. To Felicia he "isn't a man you can be alarmed about for long" because he is so reassuringly bland and ordinary—albeit with a kind of ordinariness that is new to her, on her first trip out of Ireland. She finds the mind-numbing clichés of the lower-middle class English demotic, for which Trevor has an incomparable ear, fresh and comforting, as he tells her about himself:

> "I've had a regimental career myself. The army's in my blood, as you might say."
>
> "You're not in the army now?"
>
> "I came out when Ada was first ailing. She needed care, more care than I could give, having regimental duties. No, I still help the regiment out, but it's office stuff now."
>
> "At the factory where I met you—"
>
> "Oh, no, no. No, not at all. I happened to call in there to see a friend. Well, as a matter of fact, to tell him Ada was going into hospital. People like to know a thing like that. No, I keep things straight for the regiment on the bookkeeping side now. Gets me out of the house, Ada says."
>
> Again Felicia nods.
>
> "You'd stagnate if you didn't, Felicia. You'd stagnate in a big house, caring for an invalid wife, nursing really."
>
> "Your wife's an invalid?"
>
> "Best to think of Ada as that. Best for

Mr. Bowman is American editor of the Times Literary Supplement.

What Lawyers Don't Tell You...

You can form your own corporation, by phone, in any state, in as little as 8 minutes, as low as $45

It's amazing but true. My company has set up more than 110,000 corporations in the last 22 years.

You know the advantages of incorporating: Incredible tax breaks, Protection of personal assets. Attracting investors. And more.

David McAllister
Incorporation Specialist
The Company Corporation

Cut out the middleman & save up to 90%

The problem is most folks think you have to go through a law firm, pay $2,000 to $3,000, wait six weeks and then forever be bogged down with mountains of paperwork. Not so when you go through my company. You can incorporate in 8 minutes... over the phone... FOR AS LITTLE AS $45, plus a state filing fee—usually $74.

Forming corporations is all we do

We have been doing this for 22 years. That's all we do. We can incorporate you in any state, and are most famous for our ability to set you up as a Delaware corporation—the well-known corporate haven.

We do it all for you

Now we've made it especially easy for business owners and entrepreneurs to incorporate. Just call us with your credit card, and we'll do it all by phone, including name reservation. No red tape. No legal fees. No hassle.

FREE • FREE • FREE

If you're still unsure about incorporating, try this: we'll send you a FREE copy of our publication, HOW TO FORM AND SERVICE A CORPORATION AT VERY LOW COST! Learn everything you need to know to form your own corporation... legally quickly, and affordably, with maximum protection for your personal assets.

Protect your future

Do yourself, your family and your business a favor. Take about 8 minutes and call the number below. We'll incorporate your company on the spot. Or, we'll send you our RISK-FREE publication. Incorporating is a powerful step in controlling your future. Take that step today.

1-800-542-2677 Ext. 5399

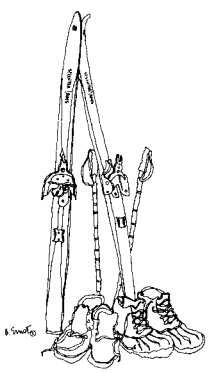
The Company Corporation, Dept. 5643
201 N. Walnut St., Wilmington, DE 19801

© The Company Corporation 1994

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> Ada, she says herself, best for me. It's what it amounts to, as a matter of honest fact, no good denying it, no good pulling the wool. You follow me, Felicia?"
>
> "Yes, I do."
>
> "If you face the facts you can take them in your stride. I had a sergeant-major under me said that, top-class man. You meet all sorts in a regimental career."

Everything here is a lie—Ada, the invalid wife, the nursing, the hospital, the regimental career, the friend at the factory, the sergeant-major. But somehow it is rendered restrospectively plausible by leading up to that humbly respectable moral resolve to "face the facts." That is how Trevor's characteristic irony works. When, later, Hilditch squeezes out a few tears for the imaginary death of the imaginary wife, Felicia is ashamed for being mistrustful of him. "No one else had been so concerned" for her plight, she reflects. And with a jolt we realize that she is right.



It takes a writer with the highest gifts to do things like that. Or delicately to anatomize Felicia's reminiscence of Johnny and her feeling of

> a call to account for the happiness she had so recklessly indulged in. "Don't worry about that side of things," he had reassured her once, as they hurried through the Mandeville woods. "All that's taken care of by myself." Her face went red when he said it, but she was glad he had. "There's nothing wrong in it," he murmured, saying more, "nothing wrong in it when two people love one another." Yet the night she wrote the letter she felt that maybe, after all, there had been: the old-fashioned sin you had to confess if you went to Confession; the sin of being greedy, the sin of not being patient. And why should she have supposed that the happiness his love had given her was her due, and free?

That is magical writing. The direct quotation breaks off after Johnny is remembered to have said "There's nothing wrong in it" and the prose itself takes on the shyness of the girl as it pauses a moment ("saying more") before it can proceed to the hugely significant use of the word "love." We know at once that this is the only time the boy used it. Felicia's preoccupation with the past gives her something in common with her ga-ga great granny who lives, as Philip Larkin puts it, "not here and now but where all happened once." It helps her go on believing that "only being together, only their love, can bring redemption."

The novel can be read as an account of competing romanticisms. Besides Felicia's mooning over the worthless Johnny, there is her father's romance of the Irish revolution and the part in it taken by the now helpless old lady in her unimaginably remote girlhood. "Not much older than yourself she was," he tells Felicia, "when the lads went off, knowing the color of their duty. Three days later and she's a widow. She wasn't married a month and he was gone. Don't talk to me of some back-street romance, girl." Mr. Hilditch, too, is a romantic who listens to the love songs of the Forties and Fifties on his gramophone of an evening. His everyday sentimentalism is capable of appalling acts at the same time that it inspires trust in victims like Felicia: victims who now inhabit in his mind a macabre "Memory Lane."

The only flaw in this subtlest and most beautifully written of thrillers is that Trevor has his own streak of romanticism—particularly about the street people whose lives Felicia drops into and out of again. It seems to me a weakness in the book, a stretch to ask us to accept that Felicia, without the following wind of drugs, alcohol, or disease, should have made such haste to join those so without resources of intelligence or industry as to have identified themselves (at ages well in advance of hers) as life's big losers. They make a convenient symbolic association for poor Felicia, but they do not ring true, except as very temporary companions when she is at her lowest and unluckiest.

Perhaps their purpose is to prevent the novel from committing itself too completely to the slow but inexorable working out of a species of divine retribution for the sins of Mr. Hilditch. With typically well-judged irony, Trevor shows him maddened by the continued importunities of the "God-botherers" among whom Felicia briefly sojourns—though it is only in his guilty imaginings that they have any ulterior motive beyond converting him to their weird cult, the Gatherers. As a tale of justice it would otherwise be too neat for modern tastes. But William Trevor is too good a writer not to make it a tale of justice as well as a compassionate, melancholy meditation on human wretchedness and the dark places in the heart. □

Pierced by Forever, Worried by Now

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

RALPH DE TOLEDANO is known as an author and journalist. He is also a poet, a God-haunted artist of profound learning, the breadth of whose reading and the depth of whose thought make his poems challenging in their heuristic reach.

The Apocrypha of Limbo, by Ralph de Toledano (Pelican, 96 pp., $13.95)

Moving through *The Apocrypha of Limbo* we come upon "David Antiphons," "The Small Gospel of Peter," "Epilogue to the Book of Job," the "Testament of Herod," and the "Prologue to the Book of Jesse." Titles that beckon to us. And two others, "Lament for Deutero-Jeremiah," and "Koheleth in Captivity." What's that? I thrashed around and learned that Koheleth is the Hebrew name for the Book of Ecclesiastes, meaning teacher or preacher, and in that poem one finds more than the "limping meter" of the original.

Toledano, avocationally an eminent music critic, makes his own music with these poems. His voice throughout is unique, in part because his diction is here and there more that of the critic than that of a poet. Each man needs to seek out his own approach to the ineffable, the God who cannot be verbalized, whose sustenance of the world is at the center of this book.

Toledano launches with "Three Devotions," beginning:

Who seeks God's love seeks nothing.
Against the measurable span
of finite longing, hope delimited,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

God's love is less and more than love,
not to be given or withheld
but there in the eternal abyss
of all creation. Who seeks
in life more than the benediction
of God's presence, lacking love
or hate or anything but the Presence,
covets a hurricane in a thimble.

God's love is a Biblical theme (nobody loved Zeus or Baal), eternally renewable, but a theme that carries with it the danger of pietism or banalities. Toledano never slips. Like other fine poets he can write a bad line, e.g., "gauges the irremedial span." No matter. It occurs in the third of the "Three Devotions," which closes with the lines:

In these my private devotions
there is only the adequacy of not
enough
as when the mind returns
to the overscrutiny of the public
square.

In the empyrean of his religious mode, the poet never loses sight of earth.

In "The Small Gospel of Peter," we find Peter walking on Calvary after the crucifixion, "dry-eyed like a woman thrifty of her tears."

Here where three solitary stumps
push upward
barren to the reaching sky, I walk
unslippered
in the ashen night, blood mingling
with the dew
of sweated earth, beyond the grip of
measure,
pierced by forever and worried by
now.

That closing line can be taken as commentary on the poems in *The Apocrypha of Limbo* with their irony and their anguish, where the city becomes the metaphor for the God-estranged society, the whole an appeal to God for understanding. "Belabor me, O Lord, and find my God," he cries out.

There is opacity in Toledano's poems, perhaps inevitable in the pursuit of Biblically inspired and metaphysical themes in poems where the language is plain enough but the poem itself is a metaphor. In other poems he skips about literature and history: Tybalt talking to Juliet as she lies in the crypt, Guinevere refusing to see King Arthur, Herod at Christ's empty tomb, Jeremiah back from Babylon. One of his finest poems is written in Spanish on the death of the poet Federico García Lorca, entitled "Muerte del Poeta," worthy to stand beside the works of that man. And one of the longest poems is "Prologue to the Book of Jesse," father of David, first forebear of the Son of Man, which is to be read as a fable for our time, for all time. Some of its gist is caught up in three lines:

party to a dream that a man's
defiance
is not a gesture in the gale, a
stuttered cry,
but somber music walled against
time.

That, too, is commentary on these poems, which are as contemporary as the chiming hour, touched by eternal themes, "pierced by forever and worried by now." □

FILM

Wrong-Note Waltz

JOHN SIMON

I MISSED Richard Linklater's previous and, I gather, very different films, but ***Before Sunrise*** does not instill in me an uncontrollable urge to ferret them out. Yes, *Before Sunrise* is atypical for our times, which lends it some interest. But from atypical to original and noteworthy can be quite a long way, which the movie lacks the stamina to traverse.

Céline, a graduate student, is returning from a visit to her grandmother in Budapest to her home in Paris; on the train, she meets Jesse, a young American who has just been ditched by his girlfriend in Madrid, but claims to have a cheaper flight home from Vienna. (It turns out he has a

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

Learn Another Language on Your Own!

Learn to speak a foreign language fluently on your own and at your own pace with what are considered the finest in-depth courses available. Many were developed by the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State for diplomatic personnel who must learn a language quickly and thoroughly. Emphasis is on learning to speak and to understand the spoken language. A typical course (equivalent to a college semester) includes an album of 10 to 12 audio cassettes (10 to 18 hours), recorded by native-born speakers, plus a 250-page textbook.

☐ Arabic (Saudi)	$185	☐ Japanese	$185	☐ Serbo-Croatian	$195
☐ Cantonese	$185	☐ Korean	$195	☐ Slovak	$185
☐ French	$185	☐ Lakota	$185	☐ Spanish	$185
☐ French Level II	$215	☐ Latvian	$185	☐ Spanish Level II	$165
☐ German	$185	☐ Lithuanian	$135	☐ Swahili	$225
☐ German Level II	$155	☐ Mandarin	$185	☐ Swedish	$185
☐ Greek	$185	☐ Persian	$185	☐ Tagalog	$295
☐ Hebrew	$255	☐ Polish	$185	☐ Thai	$195
☐ Hindi (Intermed)	$185	☐ Portuguese (Brazilian)	$215	☐ Turkish	$195
☐ Hungarian	$195			☐ Ukrainian	$195
☐ Italian	$185	☐ Russian	$255	☐ Vietnamese	$225

You can order now with a full 3-week money-back guarantee, by calling toll-free **1-800-243-1234** or by fax (203) 453-9774, or by mail by clipping this ad and sending with your name and address and a check or money order — or charge to any major credit card, by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature. Our 56-page *Whole World Language Catalog* offers courses in 91 languages Call or write for your free copy. Our 23rd year.

AUDIO-FORUM®
THE LANGUAGE SOURCE

Audio-Forum, Room E341
96 Broad St., Guilford, CT 06437 (203) 453-9794

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eurail pass, and don't you rail at Eurail!) Céline, too, has had a recent romantic breakup. The stage is set when Jesse solicits Céline to interrupt her journey, so they can spend a platonic night roaming the streets and nightclubs of Vienna before they continue on their separate ways in the morning.

The girl has considered the youth cute ever since she moved into the seat next to him to avoid the proximity of an in-fighting Austrian couple; thus she does not require much prodding to jointly explore the "city of our dreams," to quote the song. The travelogue commences, subsidized in part by the Vienna Film Financing Fund. May the tribe of tourists in Vienna increase no less than Abou Ben Adhem's, but I would have preferred seeing the city in a less distorting mirror than this one.

The formula is as follows. Have these young people meet cute, continue cute, and part cute. Keep the audience guessing: will they or won't they, despite their ground rules, end up making love fetchingly among the Keep Off the Grass signs of one of Vienna's parks? Mr. Linklater leads up to what looks like an incipient sex scene, then cuts several hours ahead, leaving this particular answer to our imaginations, on the not unfounded assumption that they may be better than his. So, too, with the ambiguous ending: will the young persons keep their promise to meet again in the same place six months hence? (Where, by the way, have we heard that one before?) Frankly, Scarlett, I don't give a damn.

Still, as skeleton plots go, this one may not be worse than any another skeleton; the problem lies in the fleshing out. I find both Jesse and Céline crashing bores who never stop spouting thrice-told trivia; equally dull when they are being typical young people and when, in the filmmakers' opinions, they become clever or winsome or inventive, or whatever putative traits of theirs are supposed to beguile us. Clearly, such a story depends on so-called fragile charm, the very quality in shortest supply in these parts in these days.

What moves the movie forward is twofold: the unfurling of the principals' past in their conversation, and the impact of encounters with the fabled city and its oddball denizens. And how delightful that, on top of Vienna, we get, in the score or the dialogue, such distinguished presences as Seurat, Auden, Purcell, Beethoven, Bach, Vivaldi, and numerous visual allusions to the movie *The Third Man*, not to mention the latest in Austrian and American pop music. One expects no less from coauthors such as Linklater, who studied literature and drama for two years at the University of Texas before dropping out to work on offshore oil rigs, and Kim Krizan, who is an actress and belly dancer, and earned her M.A. in literature with a thesis on "Anaïs Nin and the Psychology of Creativity," the one questionable item among otherwise impeccable credentials.

Representative of the movie is an interminable scene in the back of a Viennese trolley en route to the Prater

amusement park and its giant ferris wheel, as Jesse and Céline rehearse their former love affairs. Perhaps to atone for the reputed fast cutting of his earlier films, Linklater (as also in other scenes) dawdles statically and relentlessly over an exchange of unenlightening confidences. How to approach this badinage? Are we to smile nostalgically as we re-encounter our former selves? Well now, if we ever were this banal and tiresome, the quicker we abjure and forget it, the better. And if we never were like this, why encumber us with alien regurgitations? One solution would be to satirize these pups, but nothing could be farther from the filmmakers' minds, especially since they encouraged their esteemed actors to draw on their own lives and vocabularies.

Alas, for us to share in this sentimental joyride, something would have to rise above the coy, the clichéd, and the cutesy. Take the dialogue. "Look, there's a rabbit!" "Hello, rabbit!" "He's cute." What was Céline like to Jesse? "She was literally like a Botticelli angel." Ah yes, literally. And what of "It kind of let me know how ambiguous everything was—even death"? I forgot to jot down the antecedent, but it's shuddery enough as is. And his parents, Jesse says, "stuck together for the well-being of my sister and I." "Well-being" may strike one as a bit fancy, but the ungrammatical nominative is only too believable, unironic as it is. People who write theses on Anaïs Nin can't be bothered with such trifles.

Or there could be great performances. Both Ethan Hawke and Julie Delpy are decent actors, but neither of them, as of now, is great. His main problem is something cultivatedly unwashed about his look and manner; hers, the Gallic charm she exudes a little too self-consciously. Moreover, Mr. Hawke tends toward smarminess; Miss Delpy, toward deliquescence. And forced to look at them this closely, this long, you get too much callowness from him, and a certain pasty-facedness from her. As for the minor Austrian characters who wander in and out, some of them are interesting, some of them merely irritating. When they speak German, there are no subtitles, which is too bad, because the German dialogue is marginally better than the English, the translators presumably improving on the screenwriters' art. Or else, like the two avant-garde theater guys who appear briefly, they make up their own stuff—better.

Watching the film invites free association. I was happy to see the little square outside the café that was the hangout of Peter Altenberg, the author of exquisitely humorous or lyrically poignant prose sketches; what a scenarist he might have made for this movie! The heroine's name, Céline, made me think of the homonymous French novelist, whose *Journey to the End of the Night*, though considerably longer than this one, is incomparably less exhausting.

■ Apropos French novelists, ***Colonel Chabert*** has made it to the screen. As adapted by Jean Cosmos and Yves Angelo, and directed by the latter, this minor Balzac novel proves a major cinematic achievement. Angelo, a gifted cinematographer whose directorial debut this is, will be recalled for such gorgeously shot films as *Tous les matins du monde* and *Un Coeur en hiver*, and the undeservedly neglected

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germinal, based on Zola. Angelo began as a first-prize winner in piano at the Paris Conservatory of Music, and so I expected this film to both look right and, musically, sound right.

The former expectation is neatly met by the camera of Bernard Lutic (a name new to me), but the music raises some problems. The composers here are Scarlatti, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Schumann, an even more impressive roster than Linklater's, but a bit topheavy: less of it—less of any soundtrack music—would go farther. Unfortunately, profitable sales of soundtrack albums have come to dictate film scoring to the point where silence seems more than golden—platinum.

The story is a splendid variation on the Martin Guerre theme. A rich widow who thinks she has lost her husband, an officer in the Napoleonic wars, has remarried into the aristocracy, given birth to charming offspring, and maneuvered her way to enormous wealth. The last thing she wants is for her ex-husband to show up and claim her. But such an alleged Colonel Chabert does show up, and may well be legitimate, even though the now Countess Ferraud will have nothing to do with him. Impostor or genuine article, Chabert cuts a seedy figure, yet manages, by sheer persistence, to gain access to the celebrated lawyer Derville, who is impressed enough to take on his case, even though he is also the Countess's lawyer. Never have the anfractuosities of the law been more Byzantine. To complicate matters further, Count Ferraud wants out of his marriage, as something better beckons.

With Balzac as co-screenwriter, you are in supremely good hands. And the riveting story and dialogue are matched here by superlative direction and acting. As Chabert, the ubiquitous Gérard Depardieu proves yet again that his stardom is fully earned. His performance is both rock solid and subtly detailed; he inhabits the film like a giant meteorite crashed down here, and not to be easily removed or bypassed. Fanny Ardant makes a greedy, crafty, all too human Countess, and André Dussollier is superiorly swinish as the Count. But the film belongs to Fabrice Luchini, whose mercurial lawyer is a sublime bundle of contradictions, as complex a character as you've ever seen entrancingly enacted. And there is a fine supporting cast, from Claude Rich to Albert Delpy, easily as good as his famous daughter. □

SPORT

Mucho Más

JAMES COMO & RICHARD NEBENZAHL

AS PIERCE EGAN wrote in his *Boxiana* of 1824, "The sweet science [i.e., boxing] is joined onto the past like a man's arm to his shoulder." That is one reason why boxing is one of only two sports (baseball being the other) worthy of serious regard. Both provide that vitalizing mix of tradition (history with a heartbeat), virtue, and pleasure which is so rare. Would a vigorous round of . . . golf do the same—golf which represented the sole sporting entry in *NR*'s hedonic survey of last year? No, of course not. Instead of hitting the links, we insist that you relish the performance of a veritable walking *Book of Virtues*—most especially work, courage, and perseverance—who just happens to be the greatest living practitioner of the sweet science.

Roberto Duran is among the ten greatest prize fighters in history and was that even before, at age 29 in 1980, with 14 years in the professional ring—having held the lightweight (135 lbs. limit) championship longer than anyone except the great Benny Leonard—he relinquished that belt and did what almost everyone thought to be impossible: beat up and triumphed over the supremely gifted, undefeated, Olympic Gold Medal–holding, professional welterweight (147 lbs.) world champion Ray Leonard. And Duran remains among the historical top ten 14 years after the anomalous—not ignominious nor even notorious—"*no más*" rematch against the coy Leonard, during which, in the midst of the fight and at the center of the ring, he became one of the most mystifying fighters ever by simply quitting. No one, not even Duran, knows exactly why, and after all the analyses we must regard that moment as exquisitely existential; the master would not lend himself to the pusillanimous tactics of Saccharine Ray and so uttered a Spanish version of Bartleby the Scrivener's eloquent "I would prefer not to." St. Thomas Aquinas might have had Roberto Duran in mind when he described Prudence, the first of the moral virtues, as a "principle of moral action that perfects man's practical reason, so that in every action he dispose and order all things as it behoves, by commanding himself . . . [by] memory . . . , docility . . . , astuteness . . . , foresight . . . , circumspection . . . , [and by] precaution against . . . whatever might endanger the happy result."

Very few men of great reputation have fought more than one hundred times—Rocky Marciano, 49 bouts, retired undefeated at age 32—and only two of those, "Sugar" Ray Robinson and Archie "The Mongoose" Moore, fought into their forties with the competitive effectiveness evidenced by Duran. Whether or not he really knocked out a horse (unavailable for comment) when he was a 13-year-old, slum-dwelling tough on the mean streets of Panama City we will never know. We do know, however, that three (former) champions retired after their losses to him, that he knocked down and beat the fearsome Iran Barkley (who would go on to knock out Thomas "Hit Man" Hearns, the hardest puncher of this and many another generation and the only man to knock out Duran) to win his fourth world championship, and that Ray Arcel—the sagest of boxing trainers, who died last March at age 94, and so should know—said of Duran that "boxing is *brain over brawn*. I don't care how much ability you've got as a fighter. If you can't think you're just another bum in the park." "Duran," he said, had as much "mental energy" as any boxer he'd ever known.

His ring style has always been marked by lean contempt both for his opponent and for pain, relentless ferocity, great economy of movement, and a nuanced elusiveness owing especially to a quickness of the upper body equal to the hand speed of even his flashiest opponents. He can strike powerfully with either hand, but the right—espe-

Mr. Como teaches rhetoric at York College, CUNY. Mr. Nebenzahl is a freelance writer on boxing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cially the overhand right, thrown from above the level of the shoulder and from a variety of unpredictable angles—is the prettiest. Since Duran never seems to be off balance, the blow is never un-leveraged.

Outside the ring Duran has been a high-liver, with over-eating as his nemesis. (The Steak Duran, at Victor's Cafe in Manhattan, is his own magnificent creation.) He will tell jokes to his cronies late into the night, sometimes become loud, though not nasty, and has been known to spend beyond his immediate means. But there is no scandal: no brawling, no drunkenness, no womanizing, no drugs.

When Duran's wife was pregnant with their seventh child, he claimed she was delaying the birth so that "she will have the baby on the plane back to Florida and be able to fly for free for the rest of her life." He recently lost his bid for a Panamanian Senate seat by fifty votes: when some nefarious electioneering on the part of his opponent was uncovered, Duran refused to contest the election. It seems that, although unfrightened by the gunfire that attended the electoral process, he finds politics itself too "rough and dirty" to merit his prolonged participation. Instead he will continue to box. When he won his first championship, a new house cost $27,600, a new car $3,700, a gallon of gas 36 cents. The average family income was $11,100. Who knows what these figures will be by the time he is done? Now he is more relaxed and measured—we prefer the more fitting *disciplined*—than ever.

This past June 25, Vinny "The Pazmanian Devil" Pazienza, twice a world champion himself and on his own ferocious comeback trail after having suffered a broken neck, was not looking for an autograph when he stepped into the ring against Duran, who was fit, strong, savvy, and slow. It was that superb overhand right, having a mere eight inches of arc and thrown with such speed as to be barely discernible on a slow-motion replay, that knocked the estimable and much-younger Pazienza to the canvas for the very first time in his career. So in Duran's biggest fight in some five years Pazienza lost more than a little blood, a good deal of poise, much of his self-promoted sense of destiny (he boasted that he would dispatch the geezer with panache), and a little bit of class (his claim to which was tenuous to begin with: this will be a good year, he proclaimed, because "my girl will appear in *Penthouse*")—lost, in fact, something of everything except the 12-round decision. That went unanimously in his favor and was not *quite* highway robbery, though it does seem the judges went more for the sizzle than for the steak. After the bout Duran, just like us, was unmarked and unwinded—and ready for more, just like us. We took in the re-match January 14, at the Atlantic City Convention Center.

That night, Duran's chin and heart were even harder and larger than his hands, but those hands and the reflexes that ignite them were too slow to strike. Pazienza *was* quick and fought a smart, disciplined sequel, the most interesting feature of which (as it turned out) were the ring girls who promenaded between rounds. Later Duran said that he would not retire, which is good in a way because there are not that many old-time, living-and-breathing pages from *The Book of Virtues* healthily walking about. We prefer he stay that way. But your particular beauty has faded, *caballero*, and the time for a final act of *Prudencia* is upon you.

When Duran does eventually retire, we, the not-so-young, leavened by experience and recalling our own battles, will still revel in the untarnished image of this unposturing craftsman (you will never see him on television selling mufflers), enjoying in retrospect the pleasures he afforded, arguing, cheering, analyzing, and joking—just as men, and the more perspicacious of women, have been doing at prize fights for centuries. We will recall the history of which Duran partakes and the tradition he has adorned, but especially we will continue to admire the virtues that this extraordinary athlete, in the company of few others, exemplifies thirty years after he did—or, maybe, did not—render unconscious that sorry equine beast. □

TRIBUTE

What My Father Gave Me

ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

IT IS GRIM but true; until death comes, you don't fully grasp what your father means to you. Bits and pieces accumulate over time, but not the whole picture. Love, gratitude, resentment, rivalry, momentary disagreements, all tend to cloud the picture. If one had to reduce it to a word it would be ambivalence. But there are the clear legacies, too. For me, they include an early introduction to the pleasures of song and music, to literature and history, and to lively, "grown-up" conversation before the age of ten—in a word, to a civilized life.

And then it happens. In Dad's case, not too suddenly. It was after three months of hospitalization at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington. My father, who was quite healthy and active into his mid eighties, suddenly went into a physical decline. No need for clinical details. He literally wasted away—with a certain amount of help from quacks early on—and that was very sad. But his mind remained sharp, and for that I am very grateful.

I am not a sentimental person. But in my father's closing days, something happened. I realized that I had my last chance to say things I would never have said when he was healthy, happy, and on top of things. That is probably a reflection of the sort of family I come from. You love each other but you just don't *say* things unless it's *in extremis*.

So in those last days, I found myself telling my father things that good WASPs never say. Things I would have sneered at if they'd been part of a film script. Stroking the forehead of your father and telling him that you love him. Thanking him for teaching you right from wrong. Telling him that he'd been very brave (which, God knows, he had been, given the number of needles and tubes he had suffered through with minimum complaining).

The end came from pneumonia. It was peaceful. He had insisted on cremation, and that's what we did.

He's now with my mother, who died in 1954, and whose death left a wound in his heart that never really healed. Burials are not happy occasions, but his was not dismal. At the cemetery, and at the wake, were those he really

Mr. Bakshian is editor-in-chief of American Speaker.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cared for, and who cared for him: children, grandchildren, cousins, a few surviving contemporaries, and younger friends who remembered him fondly.

Letters had also come in, from people who had met Dad once or twice at Christmas parties and the like. They missed him, too. They were sorry. He was, it turned out, a man people liked and remembered—suave, charming, and with a lively sense of the absurdity of things. Of course, I remember him, too. Sometimes I hear the echo of his voice in my own. And when I do, I am grateful.

For me—as other people's words and feelings came in by mail and phone, reinforcing all that was best in what I remembered—I found myself thinking of him not only as my father, but as my friend.

What did my father give me? Not an inheritance, but a heritage. He, who was a great collegiate athlete, gave me—an all-star non-participator—a sense of sportsmanship that goes far beyond the playing field. He taught me to play fair in everything, and to hate bullies. He taught me good taste and good manners, which have no price but great worth. He opened my mind when I was very young to a love of learning. Anything I have done since—books, articles, and random words and acts, for better or worse—would never have happened without him.

He was my father and these are the things he gave me. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Red Scare: Memories of the American Inquisition: An Oral History, by Griffin Fariello (Norton, 596 pp., $29.95)

LIKE OTHER revisionist books with the word "inquisition" in the title, this is a literary show-trial rigged to prove that Stalin's American disciples were not goose-stepping totalitarian cadres who, long after comrades like Arthur Koestler had heard the screams and bailed out, sold their souls to a genocidal regime, then remained silent while their fellow artists and writers perished in the gulag. Rather, they were misunderstood idealists, and victims of hysterical American witch hunters. You can hear the barrel being scraped, and the author confuses the issue by mixing hard-core Communist Party members with camp followers, relatives, and the "hounds" who supposedly persecuted them all. Fortunately, the author lets his gallery of ghastlies speak for themselves. Together they confirm that the human potential for denial, hypocrisy, and corruption is truly unlimited. Alger Hiss makes the case for his innocence and victimhood. Herb Aptheker, who wrote a book defending the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, delivers some vintage autohagiography. Banjoist Pete Seeger explains how defending the Stalin–Hitler pact meant "singing for peace" and again compares the United States to Nazi Germany. Entries by John Randolph, Paul Jarrico, Bill Bailey, and many others make this book a true collector's item.

—K. L. BILLINGSLEY

Poisoned Ivy: How Egos, Ideology, and Power Politics Almost Ruined Harvard Law School, by Eleanor Kerlow (St. Martin's, 340 pp., $22.95)

IF HARVARD LAW'S internecine strife from 1989 to 1992 was a recipe for an insightful meditation on political correctness versus discrimination, Miss Kerlow is not the cook. The ingredients were there: students marched, sat in the dean's office demanding diversity, sued the law school for discrimination in faculty hiring. Students on the right retaliated; words grew bitter; camps were set up. Then, in 1991, Boston law professor Mary Joe Frug was murdered by an unknown assailant. After fierce debate, *Harvard Law Review* editors published Professor Frug's controversial feminist work-in-progress. Some dissenting conservative male editors authored a tasteless parody of the professor and her work. The dean was asked to resign. Miss Kerlow's treatment, unfortunately, will appeal only to those who like both left-wing bias in their journalism and fawning prose romanticizing Ivy League institutions. Drawing from no disinterested sources, the author trades access for objectivity and supplies exoneration to nearly every participant willing to speak to her, judgment for the rest. Miss Kerlow's bias embraces both careless writing and strident argument, though her ungainly aid to the Left can only give comfort to Harvard's conservatives. Worst of all, her artless subjectivity frustrates a disturbing story's ability to tell itself.

—CAMERON POWELL

UNIQUELY LUXURIOUS

IT'S THE ULTIMATE LUXURY FEATURE:

An "Elevette" residential elevator adds a unique custom touch to your home, as well as practicality and convenience. Available in a variety of decor-matching styles.

It's the ultimate solution for people who require a wheelchair or can't use stairs, and is tax-deductible when doctor recommended.

For free literature, contact:

INCLINATOR COMPANY OF AMERICA

Dept. 33
PO Box 1557
Harrisburg, PA 17105-1557
Phone 717-234-8065

AUDIO BOOKS

- Rentals by mail
- All Unabridged
- Huge Selection
- 100% Guarantee

BLACKSTONE AUDIO BOOKS
Dept. NR • P.O. Box 969 • Ashland OR 97520

For a FREE Catalogue, Write or Call:
1-800-729-2665

THE EXECUTIVE'S COMPUTER BOOK

Waterfields Guide to Computer Terms

This new book gives the busy executive authoritative information quickly—saves time. If you need to know about computers, this handsome, easy-to-understand guide will explain the computer terms you are likely to meet and give you trustworthy advice. Your satisfaction guaranteed!

Waterfields Guide to Computer Terms is $12.95 + $4.00 S&H (tax in MD). You will get **$1.00 off** from Waterfields Press, Inc. if you mention this ad when you call or write.

Waterfields™ Press
P.O. Box 2377
Ellicott City, MD 21041
1-800-318-9229

Just the information you need ™

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Real Estate

SADDLE UP AND RIDE THE RANGE. Elk roam this area with majestic views of Colorado's Sangre de Cristo mountains, wild flowers, Pinion Pines. Change the fast pace of living. 35 acres for $48,600. Call Ed at LPI 800-495-2526.

Hotels

NEW YORK CITY
THE BEDFORD HOTEL
118 East 40th Street,
New York, N.Y. 10016
(Between Park and Lexington Aves.)
Here is the "great small hotel" you look for in a big city . . . beautifully decorated rooms and suites and friendly attentive service combine to offer you total comfort at an ideal mid-Manhattan location. Fully equipped kitchenettes are available.
Ask About Discount Rates
For *National Review* Readers
Reservations: 800-221-6881 (USA & Canada)
FAX (212) 697-1093
Restaurant—Cocktail Lounge

Clinical Services

SPASMODIC TORTICOLLIS RECOVERY CLINIC. 2528 Camino Estribo, Santa Fe, N.M. 87505.

Gourmet

FINEST ESTATE COFFEE. Introductory offer! Three full pounds: Mocha-Java/House Blend/Colombian. $12. Prepay check, M.O. Specify grind. Free catalogue. D'Amico's, 309 Court, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11231.

Health

WRITTEN INFORMATION ABOUT any disease, medication, test. $24/year or $1/request. By physician/pharmacist. ADIC, Box 11303, San Bernadino, Calif. 92423. 909-864-4035.

Vacation Rentals

BEAUTIFULLY RESTORED COLONIAL INN located on easily accessible Loyalist Island of Green Turtle Cay, Bahamas. Has attracted celebrity guests of every description including a former U.S. President (Republican, of course), but mostly caters to nice ordinary folks. 60% repeat clientele. $60 double-occupancy. Includes English breakfast, delightful dinner. Information: Melissa Halsted, 2 Mission Hills W., Annandale, N.J. 08801. 908-735-4140. Direct: 809-365-4138.

HILTON HEAD CONDO. sleeps six, ocean view, privately owned. 614-554-3691.

MAUI—IDYLLIC OCEANFRONT condo. One-bedroom, fully furnished. $490 weekly. 818-796-3451.

Educational Opportunities

*** *Languages* ***

Over 100 different foreign and Native American self study languages for adults and children, cassettes, CD's, videos, computer programs, translators.

Audio Language Institute FREE COLOR CATALOG
1202 Lexington DEPT 272-N1
New York, New York 10128 **800.722.6394 x61**

FREE COLLEGE MONEY. Millions available. Scholarships, grants, awards. Call 800-700-4150.

You can learn more **Spanish** *reading the news*
- World news monthly
- Intermediate Spanish
- Bilingual glossary
- **$25** annual subscription
- **German** Quarterly: **$18**/year

EDUCATIONAL NEWS SERVICE
Box 60478-NR, Florence, MA 01060
FREE BROCHURE **1-800-600-4494**

UNIVERSITY DEGREES without classes! Accredited bachelor's, master's, doctorates. Free revealing facts. Thorson-NR, P. O. Box 470886, Tulsa, Okla. 74147.

BE A PARALEGAL!
Attorney-instructed home study. Prepare now for one of America's fastest growing careers. **Free literature: 800-223-4542.**
Name _____ Age ____
Address _____
City _____ State ____ Zip _____
School of Paralegal Studies, Dept. LLC173
PCDI, 6065 Roswell Rd., Atlanta, Georgia 30328

Travel

FREIGHTER CRUISES—worldwide, deluxe, inexpensive. TravLtips, Box 580218-A7, Flushing, N.Y. 11358. (800) 872-8584.

Financial

"OFFSHORE BANKING"
Private, Legal, Secure, Good Interest, Asset & Legal Protection *Switzerland, Austria, Cayman, Isl. of Man & more. Comprehensive "How To" Report $39.
(1-800-794-7790) Visa or MC

LET THE GOVERNMENT finance your small business. Grants/loans to $500,000. Free recorded message: 707-448-0270. (KH7).

UP 21% THROUGH OCTOBER, this fund timer invites additional $5 million for fee basis management. Accounts from $25M. SEC reg. Credentialed. Cantwell, P. O. Box 10370, Naples, Fla. 33941.

Business Opportunities

GET PAID for reading books! $100 per book. Send name, address to: Calco Publishing (Dept. C-713), 500 South Broad, Meriden, Conn. 06450.

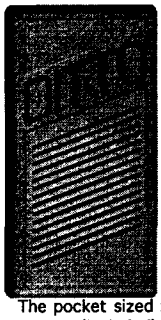
SERIOUS ABOUT BUYING a business that meets your goals? Call CALSERV Associates, Inc., at 612-831-0196 or Fax 612-831-0375.

Business/Personal Services

LEGAL FORMS: Wills, Agreements, Deeds, etc. Over 45 different forms for only $19 ppd. Check/money order to: VJC Enterprises, Dept. N, 3118 FM 528, Suite 248, Webster, Texas 77598.

For Sale

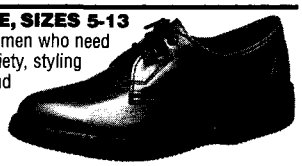
MADE IN THE USA



DITTOHEADS
GET THE POWER
Be the first in your office to tune in to the **Ditto!** This truly unique device is the only long-range radio permanently tuned to "the Great One's" worldwide shortwave network. The pocket sized **Ditto** operates on two 'AA' batteries (included) and comes with earphone for private listening. No messy antenna makes Ditto the perfect radio for work or play!
Only $35 + $5 S&H
IA Res. Add $1.75
(800)GO-DITTO
Check/Money Order :
Ditto Enterprise,Box 886,Ames,IA 50010
*Reception can be disturbed or disrupted entirely by your surroundings, or by atmospheric circumstance.

EMUS FOR SALE. Yearlings $2,000 per pair; chicks $500 each. Sawyer Emu Ranch, 800-977-2624.

MEN'S WIDE SHOES
EEE-EEEEEE, SIZES 5-13
Extra width for men who need it. Excellent variety, styling and quality. Send for **FREE CATALOG.**



Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
HITCHCOCK SHOES, INC.
Dept. 12C Hingham, MA 02043
Telephone (617) 749-3260

WEAR YOUR COLORS. T-Shirts and pillows. Political, art, custom. 800-276-1118.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

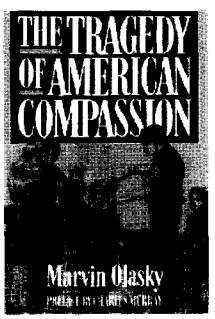
YOUR COAT OF ARMS in Stained Glass. Handcrafted to size of your choice. American Sirius, Inc. 800-335-3103.

WHITEWATER
The Cologne for Men
*who WANT to be alone
NOW, THE PERFECT "LAFF TONIC"!
WHITEWATER THE COLOGNE
GREAT GIFT IDEA! FOR LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES ALIKE.
THE SECRET? IT STINKS-but you'll love reading the "instruction booklet!"
Send TO: WHITEWATER
$10.00 BOTTLE COLOGNE
2.98 S&H BOX 871
$12.98 TOTAL MIAMI, FL 33116
Add'l bottles-free S&H FAX:(305)447-9277

AUDIO LAW—CASSETTE explaining Living Wills, health care power of attorneys, and simple wills. Concisely recorded in layman English by licensed attorneys. Send $10 to: Law Group, P. O. Box 4201, Springfield, Ill. 62708-4201.

At Last
TALK RADIO FANS!
Never Miss Your Favorite Talk Radio Shows & Personalities Again
Our quality long-play audio voice recorders *record continuously for up to 4 hours* on each side of ordinary cassette tapes!.
Best Seller
Deluxe desk model with AM/FM Stereo Radio, a 4-hour Long-Play Recorder & Twin Digital Timers Combined! $179.99
Basic models available from $89.99.
Please call for details or information by mail.
1-800-872-3578
Recordex 8925 Terrace Plaza - Suite A5 Tampa, FL 33617

Literary

Newt says this tells why private charities beat gov't welfare.
Only $11.95
Postpaid
*
Toll Free
800
326-0996
or Fax
415/541-0597
*
Free Catalog


LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS
Dept NRL, 938 Howard St, Ste 202, San Francisco, CA 94103

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles and prices. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412.

THE KITHARA. Old-fashioned good sense. $2. P. O. Box 1941, Lake Oswego, Ore. 97035.

DEADLY INNOCENCE—Kimberly Bergalis AIDS case cover-up. 336 pp. paperback, $14.95 plus S&H. 800-336-9266.

DO YOU HAVE A BOOK to publish? Established cooperative publisher can help. Call Pentland Press, Inc. 800-948-2786.

DEFEND YOUR LAND!
A Property Owner's Handbook to Stopping Government Takings
A no-nonsense guide to the law and the actions you can take to keep government from violating your property rights under the Fifth Amendment. Written by an attorney & legal scholar who has fought big government many times. Included form letters make action easier. Just $15.00, postpaid. Order directly from the author: Ray Vaughan, 3320 Wellington Road, Montgomery, AL 36106.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK!
Our FREE step-by-step Self Publishing Guide gives you all features and prices up-front so you're never in the dark! Prices include type-setting, art service, printing, binding, and more! Call or write for our FREE guide.
800-650-7888, ext. NR3
MORRIS PUBLISHING 3212 E. Highway 30 • Kearney, NE 68847

SLICK WILLIE WIRE—Newsletter featuring Clinton clinkers, critiques, and crossfire. 800-45-SLICK.

THE FEDERALIST, Excerpts with Commentary, hardbound, $12.95. P. O. Box 1941, Lake Oswego, Ore. 97035.

Religion

LOOKING FOR A CHURCH that still teaches traditional values? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616.

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers

★ ★ ★ *MORE excellence in bumper stickers!* ★ ★ ★

ABSTINENCE WORKS EVERY TIME IT'S TRIED	*"virginity"* IS NOT A DIRTY WORD	I LOVE ANIMALS *..they taste great!*
FRIENDS DON'T LET FRIENDS VOTE DEMOCRATIC!	CLINTON/GORE GONE IN FOUR!	IS YOUR CHURCH ATF APPROVED?
If guns are outlawed, only outlaws and tyrants will have guns	DON'T BLAME ME I VOTED FOR BUSH	There's no such thing as a "New Democrat"

Vinyl - $2 ea, $8/5, $12/10 (csh, chk, or m.o.) to:
JBCC, P.O. Box 365, Bloomsburg, PA 17815

"DOWNSIZE GOVERNMENT EVERYWHERE. CUT SPENDING ACROSS THE BOARD"; "STOP OVER-GOVERNING": Free bumper stickers. Dave Polewka, P.O. Box 3652, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-3652.

"I LIKE NEWT": Bumper stickers $3, T-shirt $15 (both $17). Top quality, navy/beige. PPM, P. O. Box 3331, Burlington, Vt. 05401.

TEXAS, FLORIDA: "I VOTED FOR HIS DADDY TOO!" Bumper stickers, $3/ea, 2/$5, 10/$15: JCM, Box 686, Sanderson, Tex. 79848.

Personal

RICHLY TEXTURED NEW YORK WIDOW. Newly retired professional, thought I could change the world. I didn't. An intriguing woman who is a book that merits reading again and again. Good looking, slim, responsively feminine, centered emotionally, intellectually engaging; unconventional traveler, ability to negotiate and laugh, outdoor soul-mate. Be Sixty-something to active Seventy. NR Box 2280.

ATTRACTIVE, PETITE BLOND widow, sixties, interested in meeting Christian gentleman. NR Box 2263.

HANDSOME, PROFESSIONAL, SINGLE white male, 30, seeks intelligent, marriage-minded, traditional Catholic lady, 20–35, with some interest in politics. NR Box 2279.

ATTRACTIVE, SUCCESSFUL NEW YORK CATHOLIC lady, early 30's, would like to meet male Catholic, early 30's. Interested in sports (tennis, golf, skiing), international travel. Photo appreciated. NR Box 2281.

DIGNIFIED, CLASSICALLY EDUCATED, handsome, very healthy & interesting, cosmopolitan but quite adventurous, professional man and aficionado of traditional western civilization, the Latin language, and Galway, seeks a female alter ego with child-bearing inclinations. NR Box 2278.

RETIRED PROFESSIONAL, PHYSICALLY active and financially independent, seeks attractive lady 38–58 years old, for travel, adventure, and romance. My ideal lady would be enthusiastic, personable and share my conservative views and Christian values. Photo please. NR Box 2265.

Friendship, Etc.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS'S EXCHANGE® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

MAKE NEW FRIENDS OVERSEAS. International PenPal Kit™. Free brochure. 1-800-PENPAL-U.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, a national service, has been getting unattached people together since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039, or call 610-358-5049.

RUSSIA, SCANDINAVIA, BRITAIN, France, U.S.A., etc.: Professional men, women worldwide seek friendship, marriage. Scanna International (est. 1980), P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 800-677-3170.

BEAUTIFUL BRITISH LADIES & ELIGIBLE BRITISH GENTLEMEN seek friendship, romance & marriage with Americans! All ages! Free details: English Rose Introduction Agency (Dept. NR), 24 Cecil Square, Margate, Kent CT9 1BA, England. Tel/Fax: 01144-1843-290735.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ASIAN WOMEN Desire Marriage! SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-5500. 808-325-7707.

MEET BEAUTIFUL LADIES worldwide. 800+ marriages since 1989. Free 150 photo brochure. 702-451-3070 anytime.

UKRAINIAN & RUSSIAN WOMEN. Educated, sophisticated, and attractive. Seek correspondence for friendship and marriage. Marina & Brian, P. O. Box 697, Lima, Ohio 45802. 419-222-4980.

MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE. Free 32-page photo catalogue! Correspondence service since 1974. Cherry Blossoms, 190NR Rainbow Ridge, Kapaau, Hawaii 96755. 408-980-7488.

THAI, ASIAN, WORLDWIDE, LADIES desire correspondence, lifemates. TAWL, P. O. Box 937-NR, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-0937. 808-329-5559.

SINGLE WOMEN'S NETWORK, a national group for networking, travel, and support. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 610-358-5520.

GLOBAL INTRODUCTIONS, an exclusive, private club for single men and women who are searching for a lifetime partner. For details call 813-576-2629—24-hour message.

RUSSIAN LADIES, truly beautiful, educated, seek companionship. Free color photo brochure! Russia 206, P. O. Box 888851, Atlanta, Ga. 30356. 404-458-0909.

JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific #208JW, San Francisco, Calif. 94111. 816-942-1668.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.00 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Frequency Discounts: 4 times, $3.75 per word; 6 times, $3.50 per word; 8 or more times, $3.25 per word.

NR Box Numbers: $10 additional (one-time only charge). Responses forwarded by 1st-class mail. Send to: NR Box _____ , c/o Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW,* 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Display Ads: Minimum 1-inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, $200 per column inch; 4 times, $185 per column inch; 8 times, $170 per column inch; 10 or more times, $150 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to *NATIONAL REVIEW*), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. FAX: 212-696-0340.

Restrictions: The primary function of the Classified section is to facilitate one of the essential mechanisms of the free marketplace by bringing together willing buyers and willing sellers. However, *NR* may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, without comment. Such rejections are almost always based on our interpretation of common decency and good taste. Partisan political viewpoints expressed in connection with specific goods or services are the sole responsibility of the advertiser, and are not necessarily a reflection of *NR*'s editorial position.

TUCKER

(Continued from page 44)

tom, however much it differed from Oriental and European cultures, eventually led to its own kind of family formation.

Tragically, AFDC interrupted the process precisely at the point where family formation usually occurred. Now, as a young woman's children become more disruptive or she becomes pregnant again, she no longer has to choose between imposing on her parents or finding a husband. She can go on welfare. With the help of the Federal Government, she can form her own household, receive a small but steady income, and become eligible for medical care and housing subsidies—none of which come with marriage. She can continue to have further illegitimate children or just settle down with the ones she already has. In either case, family formation fails. This is why the negative effects of welfare have had such a severe impact on ethnic groups with weak traditions of paternal claims—and why so many middle-class bureaucrats, accustomed to European norms, still cannot understand why welfare is the problem.

Nor should it be assumed that a similar pattern of illegitimacy cannot emerge among people of European origin. As cultural attitudes drift toward acceptance of illegitimacy, marginally educated white groups have easily fallen into the same syndrome. As Charles Murray notes, illegitimacy among whites with less than a high-school education is now 25 per cent—exactly where it was among blacks when illegitimacy "took off" during the welfare-rights era of the late 1960s. Exacerbating this trend is the highly visible experimentation in single motherhood among educated elites, who, although their numbers are not great, tend to be style-setters. As long as the welfare system remains in place, lending economic and moral support to single motherhood, an explosion of underclass behavior among even greater portions of the population is not a remote possibility.

What can we do to head off this eventuality, and perhaps even reverse some of the tragic disruption that has already occurred? Of the two main proposals on the table, neither is very satisfactory.

The liberal Democratic approach is to keep patching the current welfare system, adding job programs, requiring welfare mothers to work, perhaps putting time limits on eligibility. All this is punitive and does nothing to discourage illegitimacy in the first place.

The Republican proposal that has received the most attention is to eliminate welfare and use the savings to set up orphanages and other state institutions to care for children who are then abandoned. Although it may discourage illegitimacy, this policy offers few positive incentives and casts the government in the role of a cruel Dickensian taskmaster. It also fails to acknowledge the grim responsibility that the government bears for aiding and abetting underclass behavior in the first place.

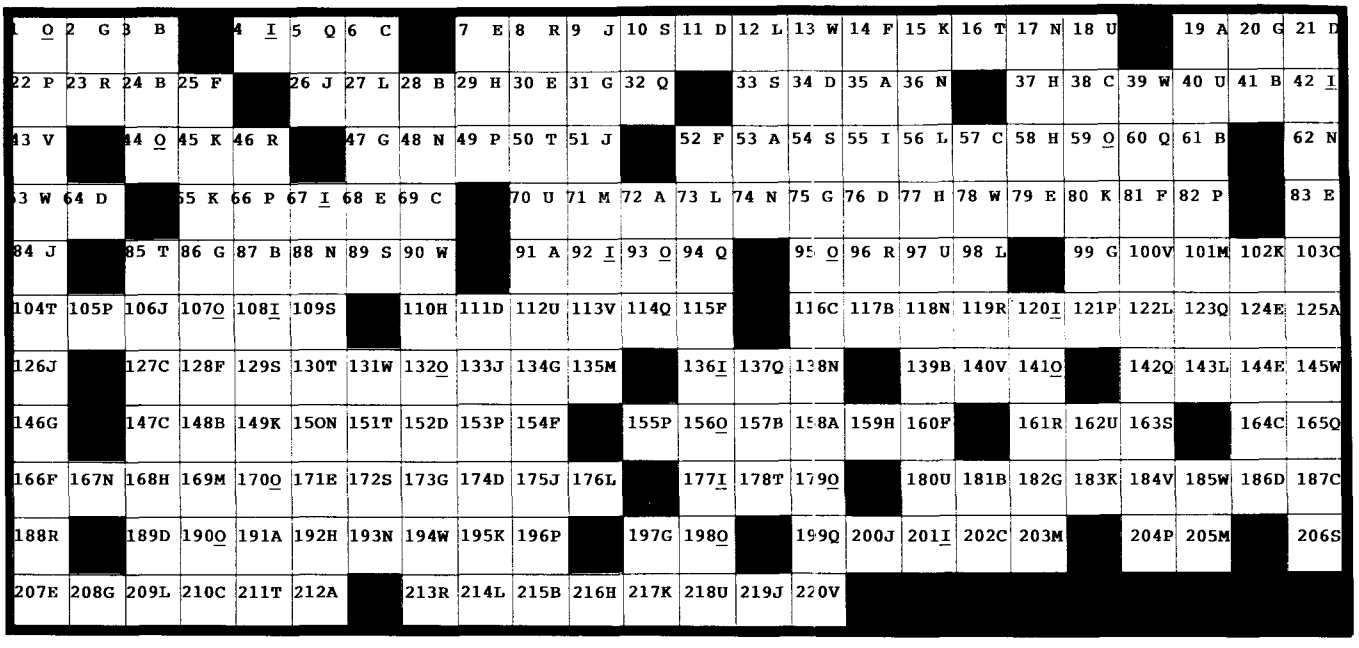
I propose a third option, one that offers both positive and negative incentives. Let us create an "opportunity grant" for poor married couples where both partners are over 21, both have finished high school, at least one is working, and neither parent has had any illegitimate children. Such couples would receive the grant for five years after their first child is born. If there are any indications that people are manipulating the grant or being encouraged to act irresponsibly, Congress or the states should not hesitate to change the incentives.

Although this program would involve some initial spending, it would quickly become cheaper and eventually abolish itself. From it would emerge a middle class with the habits and behavior that obviate public assistance. Research shows that children from two-parent families commit far fewer crimes, produce far fewer illegitimate children, and score better on intelligence tests.

Such a program would not only pay a longstanding historical debt, it would produce the building blocks for a middle-class society. Prosperity, not poverty, would become intergenerational. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. Holy city — 191 35 19 158 72 125 212 53 91

B. Paid-for newspaper words — 139 24 28 3 117 87 181 148 41 157 / 215 61

C. Mathematic workings — 164 147 187 210 38 103 6 116 57 202 / 69 127

D. Obese — 111 34 64 189 21 186 11 76 174 152

E. Boat's weight problem — 83 171 144 124 207 7 30 68 79

F. Time for 20/20 hindsight — 160 81 25 128 14 52 115 166 154

G. Honored — 208 197 146 31 99 75 47 182 86 173 / 2 20 134

H. Manners — 58 168 216 37 77 192 159 110 29

I. Putting into use — 136 108 67 120 201 177 42 55 92 4

J. Despotic — 51 84 133 106 26 9 175 219 200 126

K. Bushman — 80 65 217 149 195 15 183 102 45

L. In politics, it's often loyal — 214 176 56 143 12 209 73 122 27 98

M. Innovations — 205 71 203 169 101 135

N. Like brother killing brother — 167 48 62 88 36 150 193 74 138 118 / 17

O. "Arts and " — 179 107 1 190 93 95 132 44 198 170 / 156 59 141

P. SSS element, once (2 words) — 196 105 49 66 121 155 204 22 153 82

Q. Audacity — 94 199 142 114 123 137 60 5 165 32

R. " in Blue" — 23 96 161 213 46 8 119 188

S. Lion's best friend? — 129 172 163 206 33 54 89 109 10

T. Flashlights' predecessors — 85 211 130 16 104 178 50 151

U. Personally — 218 162 112 97 180 70 40 18

V. Damascus citizen — 220 43 140 184 113 100

W. French leader — 145 78 194 13 90 63 39 185 131

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. NEAL PIERCE: *The New Face*: "What now seems indisputable is that we're at a once-in-a-generation watershed point in American federalism. The question is no longer whether there'll be radical decentralization of power. It's how . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Exit Jack Kemp?

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 7

The withdrawal from the presidential scene of Jack Kemp brings on a great void. Though he is young he has been a fixture on the national vista, the dominant figure in focusing on the harm done by high rates of marginal taxation. It is true, as Messrs. Evans and Novak said to him on their program, that he has strayed a little from orthodoxy. Mr. Kemp is so concerned with growth that he refuses to focus as sternly as such brother conservatives as Phil Gramm on the heavy paunch of government. It is an understandable phenomenon. Everyone knows the man who, caught up in the straits of bad fortune, is so confident about his ability to navigate his way back to calm waters that he disdains any thought of reducing his extravagances. What do we care about a trillion-dollar deficit if our gross national product in ten years or so exceeds twenty trillion?

They asked Mr. Kemp, How will he stay in the public eye, given that he has no official portfolio? He seemed genuinely surprised at the question, and he is right to be surprised. His portfolio is no longer political in the sense in which it has been in the past when the question before the national house was: When will Jack Kemp make another run for the White House? He will become now what, if he were a Democrat, would be called a Wise Man. Since the critical gentry aren't prepared to acknowledge that there is wisdom of such venerability in the conservative world, Mr. Kemp will perhaps be thought of merely as an elder statesman, much as Herbert Hoover was finally accepted as such.

The kind of imaginative firepower Kemp is always ready to generate was on display that day on television. For the District of Columbia, whose mayor has acknowledged that it is flat broke, he proposes an extraordinary treatment: Make Washington, D.C., over into a Hong Kong. No taxes for anyone making under $20,000 a year, after that a flat tax of 17 or 18 per cent. No property tax, no corporate tax, no estate tax. The population of D.C. is down to just over a half million, from 800,000. Why people leave has to do with combat-zone life in the inner city, and it can't be known whether a dose of Hong Kong will greatly curb that. But a major cause of flight is the high taxation rate. Mr. Kemp's eyes light up as he weighs the joys of observing his experiment in the capital city.

All very interesting, said his interrogators, but what about Mexico? Well, he had definite ideas about that. Why had Kemp opposed the President's asking Congress for $40 billion in standby aid? Because, said Kemp, what is needed is to expedite putting Mexico in the direction of a truly firm peso. How? By pegging the peso to the dollar.

To do that would require a currency board, which would in effect take over the responsibilities of a central bank. Its mission would be remarkably simple: to see to it that the pesos in circulation are never greater than the reserves in dollars, available at any time to anyone who wants to cash in his pesos. The peso would become "as good as gold." What the currency board would not countenance is the management of the economy by politicians who seek to appease constituencies by such stratagems as have forever sunk the reputation of President Salinas. If the investor is going to return to Mexico he will need to know that the value of the peso will not gyrate. There is opposition to a currency board, and not only from labor unions and welfare junkies but by many banks and big investors. They want currencies that oscillate in value. Why not? All you have to do is buy the peso when it is down and sell it when it is up, and if you gravely miscalculate, get the U.S. to crank up an amalgamation of countries and agencies and syndicates to bail you out.

Jack Kemp has traveled a very long road since he was disdained as nothing more than an enthusiastic custodian of the interests of the very rich. His unconfined enthusiasm for those he thinks of as excluded from the fruits of democratic capitalism is itself a generator of informed policy. No anointed Republican candidate will want to wage a campaign without the support of Jack Kemp. □

"It's bad enough being on the take, Frobisher, but having a 'Washington's Birthday' sale?"

Disassembling Education

NEW YORK, JANUARY 31

In the general talk about devolution and the return of legislative authority to the states we are skirting the underlying question, which is, Who pays?

William Bennett and Lamar Alexander, both of whom served as Secretaries of Education, appeared before a congressional committee last week and proposed to return most of the 250 elementary and secondary education programs now run by the Federal Government back to the states—with a $10-billion block grant. What that means, but does not say, is that recipient states will get from Washington on Tuesday as much money as they sent to Washington on Monday. Or less money. Or more money.

The same day in which Messrs. Bennett and Alexander recommended patricide for their old department, former Governor Mario Cuomo testified that the United States would be the butt of global jokes if we abolished the U.S. Department of Education. Mr. Cuomo cannot have intended to suggest anything other than that if you are opposed to a Department of Education you are opposed to education. I was once in the company of an Austrian urbanite when he visited an electronics store in search of a record player. "Are you interested in hi-fi?" the animated salesman asked him.

"No. I am interested in music."

Mr. Bennett is interested not in a bureaucratic agency but in education. If the U.S. is the butt of global jokes, they'd be aimed at the level of educational competence in America, which has decreased in the years since we instituted a Department of Education; and nobody knows

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this better than the two former Secretaries.

But what is it about a block grant of $10 billion that so appeals?

What a "block grant" communicates is that the states would not need to finance their own education. The last thing a politician wishes to say is that the burden of raising local taxes is going to increase. The superstition that $10 billion is going to fan out, so to speak, free of charge, to the states is easily penetrable but rarely penetrated. The question is: Where did the Federal Government get the money in the first place?

Consider Mario Cuomo's home state. The figures for 1993 establish that for every dollar sent by New Yorkers to Washington, New Yorkers received back from Washington 83 cents. Project that situation onto the proposed "grant" of $10 billion. New York's share of that would be about $500 million. In order to realize that sum of money, New York would need to dispatch to Washington $602 million. What is visible to the voter is the $500 million floating in to New York, not the larger sum floating south.

How is it with other states, for instance, Lamar Alexander's Tennessee? Almost an exact complement: Tennessee gets back from Washington $1.13 for every dollar it remits, not a bad bargain. But the states that are acting as philanthropists in the situation should know what it is that they are up to. It is fundamental to enlightened self-government to have some idea of underlying reality, even if it is an invitation to visit the sausage factory.

The return of responsibility for education to the states requires a sober judgment of the extent to which New Yorkers should lend a hand to the people of Tennessee. Before President Eisenhower was shaken by the first Soviet space launch, there was no "federal" money going to education. Now, the big-name universities would almost all founder if they didn't get money channeled through Washington by the states. It is one thing to ordain that the states have to contribute something to the scientists at MIT who are engaged in devising future weapons to cope with cancer or Zhirinovsky, another to give out block grants for use in general education.

But the return of full financial responsibility ought also to bring the return of political independence, which means that Sugar Daddy's ideas about affirmative action, prayer in school, and sundry accretions of welfarism should be disassembled, along with the Department of Education, whose death, paradoxically, would do more to help education than its continuation. And the states could laugh, all the way to the bank. □

The Public TV Business

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 10

Two features of the fight over public broadcasting have caught my eye, one of them the extraordinary letter written by Larry Pressler, the chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, addressed to Richard Carlson, the president of CPB (Corporation for Public Broadcasting). The second, a point raised by Ervin Duggan, the president of PBS (Public Broadcasting Service).

I pause to aver that I am an "interested" party to this debate though not in the commercial sense of the word: My program, *Firing Line*, does not receive a nickel of public money. On the other hand I am clearly interested in the survival of my program and others like it.

What raised the hair on my head was the letter by Senator Pressler to Mr. Carlson. It was sent on January 27 and requested a reply to its questionnaire by February 10. That's February 10, 1995.

The enclosure is 16 pages long. It requests answers to, information on, and evaluative findings hypothetical and actual respecting 235 people, systems, arrangements, enterprises. The first sentence of the questionnaire reads, "All answers to questions should be substantiated with written materials, documents, memos, meeting notes, contracts, etc." Question Number 5 ("Please detail all efforts by recipients of CPB funds to generate Congressional support for continued federal funding") has 14 subordinate requests, e.g., "Is it not the case that Henry Becton, president of WGBH, Boston, admitted on a recent radio interview show hosted by Chris Lydon, while debating Rep. Joseph Kennedy, that his public station would survive without any federal funding?" That has the virtue of being specific. Not so such questions as, "Please provide an accounting for all lobbying money used by any public television entity, including APTS, NPR, and CTW." Or, "What is the process by which CPB evaluates sponsorship issues?" The 16 pages clogged with such questions would take a serious scholar armed with subpoena powers not two weeks to answer, but two decades. If some of the questions, freighted as they are with insinuation, were investigated as exhaustively as the question, Where was O.J. between 10 and 10:15 on the night of June 12, 1994, and what was he doing?—the questionnaire might be filed back to Senator Pressler's grandson. If Gibbon had been given such a questionnaire on the decline and fall of the Roman Empire he'd have said the hell with it. Whatever the soundness of his objectives, the senator is engaged in Orwellian persecution, pure and simple.

Ervin Duggan writes in response to a recent column. My position for several years has been that Adam Smith's acknowledgment of the responsibility of the state to nurture public monuments is not properly treated as authorizing only such things as the Lincoln Memorial. "I am disappointed," he writes, "that you do not accept what seems obvious to me: that public television constitutes one of Adam Smith's intangible cultural monuments . . . one that Smith would accept as much as he would accept the Bodleian or the British Museum."

He goes on eloquently to challenge a conservative assumption. "You and I have a further polite disagreement, which only time will settle. I fear that when public television has one of its supporting legs cut out from under it, such support will not be easily replaced from noncommercial sources. The enterprise will veer sharply toward commercial means of support, and thus will come under the hard imperatives of commerce. It is telling that the threat of a federal cutoff has not brought forward would-be saviors from the nonprofit world; the talk, rather, is of takeovers and buyouts by commercial broadcasters, cable companies and telephone companies who want to sell video programming. The imperatives of commercial television are ratings, action, bizarre and lurid novelty, shallow celebrity and noise; they will tempt us more and more toward Elmer Gantry's tent and away from Mont St. Michel or Chartres. In that coming thralldom to commercial imperatives, the televised lyceum will, I fear, be among the first casualties."

That is a serious question. Twenty years ago I was chairman of a corporation that took an FM station in New York from classical music to rock. I was able to persuade the board of directors to agree to give the station and its library, together with pledges to meet its current deficit in the years to come, to any nonprofit organization willing to commit itself to noncommercial round-the-clock classical music. No one stepped forward. After a gallant hiatus under different management WNCN turned—to rock. Why doesn't a foundation, or ten foundations, step forward and say: Count on us? □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Aesthetes *vs.* Gumplicans

MY MAILBOX has become an arena of conflict. The people who want to save the National Endowment for the Arts have put me on their mailing lists because I'm a writer, which fact leads them to assume that I'm an alienated, left-wing intellectual just like them.

Meanwhile, the people who want to abolish the NEA have put me on their mailing lists because I'm a conservative, which fact leads them to assume that I'm a normal American who doesn't hold with all that elitist arty stuff—i.e., a fellow Gumplican.

Naturally I'm on neither side, for reasons guaranteed to provoke both. To savor to the full my troubling stance, consider my enduring love affair with two Masterpiece Theater classics: *Upstairs, Downstairs* transported me into a world where equality was an aberration; and *I, Claudius* never plugged family values.

Nonetheless I have some thoughts on the NEA controversy. First, the general question of whether governments should support the arts:

Don't try it at home unless you live in Versailles. Only an absolute monarch can do it right because he wants his reign to be called the Age of Himself. Culture piped through great vanity emerges as great culture, but democratically elected leaders must pretend to be no better than anyone else. The pretense, which seldom strains credulity, elevates the lowest common denominator and produces cultural poobahs like Maya Angelou, whose writing makes one weep, not for Shakespeare and Austen, but for Zane Grey and Olive Higgins Prouty.

Second, the question of whether deserving individuals should receive grants:

It's extremely unwise to give creative types anything; we'll just break it or drink it. Our self-destructive streak has been endlessly romanticized but it is very real; easy money and freedom from want, far from solving our problems, tend to bring out the worst in us.

In my own experience, supporting myself with hack writing was my salvation. As a secure grantee I would have worked dilatorily on the usual turgid, plotless first novel, but instead I wrote, from necessity, three true-confessions stories a week. They trained me to keep the seat of the pants on the seat of the chair, without which a writer is nothing, and to make myself instantly clear to the simplest audience. Churning out opening sentences like "Brad waved the letter in front of my face, accusing me of unspeakable things" might not be art, but what it taught me is recorded in Horace's *Ars Poetica*: "Capture your reader, let him not depart/From dull beginnings that refuse to start."

The worst aspect of the NEA controversy is its false either–or and obscured battle lines, which brings me to my third and most important point.

Remember the flutist who was pushed in front of a New York subway train by a "youth" about ten years ago? She lost a hand. They sewed it back on but her musical career was ruined. That girl symbolizes the real issue here. The parlous state of the arts in America is directly and almost solely related to urban crime.

Arts are inseparable from cities, and our cities have been destroyed. You have to go home in the dark after the opera and the play, and fewer and fewer people are willing to take the chance. It's becoming increasingly hard to satisfy a craving for pizza, much less string quartets, now that the drivers are afraid to deliver at night. If television has lowered cultural tastes, it has been able to do so because it offers people a chance to stay in the (relative) safety of their homes instead of venturing out into the urban kraal.

We wouldn't need an NEA if cities were the vibrant and glorious cultural enclaves they once were. One of the most insidious effects of urban crime on art is the way it inhibits artists themselves.

I often wonder what my writing would be like if I could live the way I was meant to live, in a raffish bohemian neighborhood in a flourishing city, surrounded by my own kind, instead of the hybrid life I lead now. I would love to be able to live in New York, or my hometown of Washington, D.C. I long to do the crazy, spur-of-the-moment things that writers have always done: run around in the middle of the night with kindred spirits, getting drunk without worrying about creating a spectacle that might attract a mugger, or dull the reflexes needed to fight him off.

AND THEN there's that wretched car. I would have much more time and energy for my work if I could stroll down the block to buy groceries. I want to shop at Jewish delis, Italian greengrocers, Greek fish stands, preferably at four A.M., but instead I have to drive out to a shopping center. No writer should set foot in these child-seat hells, but I'm dependent on them, and hence on the car that I don't want. I can't take a bus because we don't have them where I live—and won't. Public transit is dying right along with the arts, for the same reason: crime. A bus provides criminals with an ideal captive audience; just get on and go down the aisle, robbing the victims row on row and sending them where the poppies grow.

So I really am an alienated intellectual, but not the kind the arts crowd likes. The feeling is mutual; the pro-NEA people are the same liberal masochists whose permissive politics have resulted in urban anarchy, and I hate them.

Nor do I have any use for the cowardly anti-NEA Gumplicans who think conservatism consists of a philistine bray instead of a stentorian roar. I detest the anti-intellectualism that pervades the Southern and Midwestern GOP and I resent being tarred with their small-town Rotarian brush. I'm not one of their Babbitts; I'm a right-wing intellectual—the correct definition of "elitist" in my opinion. If hostile liberal reviewers wish to call me, as one did, "the thinking man's redneck," then so be it. I want crime stopped and I'm not fussy about how it's done, because I think one bar of Puccini is worth more than our entire population of urban goths.

—FLORENCE KING

St. Martin's has just published The Florence King Reader, *an anthology.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Artistry of Milliken

Pinehurst Resort & Country Club
Pinehurst, North Carolina

Like classic fine art, Milliken carpet is synonymous with beauty. Style. And originality. Because with Milliken, the floor is a canvas. And carpet is the medium. It's no wonder America's finest establishments consistently choose to enhance their interiors with Milliken carpet. And there's another reason: Like museum-quality works, there's much more to Milliken than meets even the most practiced, discriminating eye. There's comfort. Durability. Quality. And performance. Each Milliken carpet reflects the company's commitment to excellence, which has been recognized by a host of honors, including the Malcolm Baldridge National Quality Award. The British Quality Award. And the Canada Awards for Business Excellence. Independent surveys rank Milliken number one in quality, delivery and a broad range of other customer satisfaction measures.

The artistry of Milliken. A colorful, distinctive blend of function and form.

MILLIKEN

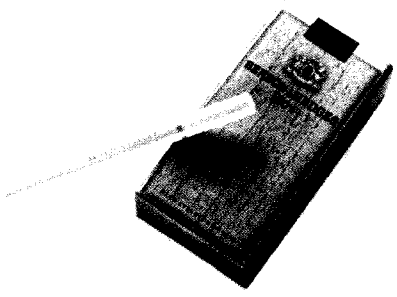
Milliken Carpet

Milliken Carpet / LaGrange, Georgia

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ever wonder why she's holding a light?
For a great smoke, take a few liberties.

BENSON & HEDGES 100's



THE LENGTH YOU GO TO FOR PLEASURE

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking By Pregnant Women May Result in Fetal Injury, Premature Birth, And Low Birth Weight.

Finally, a welcome sign for people who smoke.
Call 1-800-494-5444 for more information.

© Philip Morris Inc. 1995

15 mg "tar," 1.1 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED